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MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN OF GEORGE III.

FROM
THE TREATY OF AMIENS,
A. D. 1802,
TO THE TERMINATION OF THE REGENCY,

A. D. 1820.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO.
90, CHEAPSIDE, AND 8, PALL-MALL,
AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE, AND CO. EDINBURGH.
1824.

THE
LONDON
AND
WINDSOR
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COURSE

LONDON :

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

WINDSOR RACE COURSE

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HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

CONTINUED FROM
THE TREATY OF AMIENS,
A. D. 1802,
TO THE TERMINATION OF THE REGENCY,
A. D. 1820.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

VOL. XIV.

In Historia—ad veritatem cuncta referantur.—Cic. de Leg. L. 1.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XL.

SESSION of Parliament February 1811. State of Ireland. Duke of York reinstated in office. Battle of Albucra. Capture of Valencia by the French. Conquest of Java. Death of Mr. Perceral. Orders in Council suspended. Second American War. Invasion of Canada. Victory of Salamanca. Repulse at Burgos. Spanish Constitution established. War between France and Russia. Overture of Peace from Paris. Polish Diet convened. Battle of Borrodino. Napoleon enters Moscow. Destruction of that Capital. Disastrous Retreat of the French. New System of Finance. Battle of Vittoria. Allied Armies enter France. Defection of Prussia from France. Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen. Austria declares against France. Battle of Leipzig. Revolution in Holland. Peace concluded with Denmark. Declaration from Frankfort.

THE parliament was opened by commission on the 12th February 1811; and the speech no wise differed in general politics from what might have been looked for, had the King

BOOK
XL.

1811.

Session of
Parliament
February
12.

BOOK XL.
1811. still exercised the powers of government. At the close, the prince regent expressed “his anxious wish, that he may be enabled to restore unimpaired into the hands of his Majesty the government of his kingdoms.” The addresses in both houses were voted without a division.

State of
Ireland.

On the 18th February the earl of Moira called the attention of the lords to the extraordinary measure adopted by the government of Ireland, in issuing circular letters to the magistrates for preventing the meetings of the catholics ; and he moved for a copy of the same, which was granted ; and also, on the motion of the earl of Liverpool, a copy of the circular letter issued by the secretary of the catholic committee in Dublin.

Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Irish secretary, appearing in his place on the 7th March, Mr. Ponsonby moved for copies of papers relative to this transaction. Mr. Pole in explanation “admitted the catholic committee of 1809 to have been a legal assembly, as the object was merely to petition ; but in the present instance the intention, avowed in the circular letter of the catholic secretary, was to choose delegates, ten in number, from each county, and others from the principal towns, making in the whole 358, to manage the catholic affairs, observing all the forms of the house of commons. This

was deemed by government an illegal project, and a violation of the convention act. With the advice and concurrence, therefore, of the lord chancellor, the attorney and solicitor general, the circular in question was issued, for the purpose of preventing such election of delegates, and arresting and holding to bail all persons concerned. The Irish government did not wait for instructions from England, as this assembly might have held their meeting before such instructions could have been transmitted." After a warm debate Mr. Ponsonby's motion was negatived by 133 to 48 votes.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

Petitions were nevertheless presented from the catholics, as in the preceding year, to both houses: and in the course of the session Mr. Grattan moved that the petition to the commons be referred to the committee of the whole house. He declared "the emancipation of the catholics to be essential to the safety of the empire, which depended on national union. There was one grand truth which had escaped the wisdom of the wise, but which had been discovered by the common sense of mankind,—that every man had a right to follow his own religion without limitation or restriction. The garments of the petitioners are bathed in the blood of your

Motion for
Relief of
the Catho-
lics, May
31.

BOOK
XL.

1811.

enemies; and can you doubt whether they are capable of allegiance?"

Mr. Perceval said, "the principle on which he had always resisted this immunity was, that it could not be yielded without leading in no slow degree to the destruction of the national church; yet he professed himself as strong a friend as any man to christian toleration." After a long and able debate, the motion was negatived by 146 to 83 voices. A similar motion in the upper house by the earl of Donoughmore, the office being declined by lord Grenville, was negatived by 121 to 62 peers. These majorities were heightened, if not created, by the ill-advised proceedings of the catholics.

Financial
and Com-
mercial
Embar-
rassments.

From the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, enforced as it were by the orders in council, the most alarming consequences had ensued. The loan for the last year had sustained a ruinous depreciation; and the foreign demand for British manufactures being greatly reduced, numerous failures were the inevitable and melancholy result. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the state of commercial credit, who recommended, as a temporary expedient, an issue of exchequer-bills to the amount of six millions, for the relief of such persons as could give satisfactory

security for the repayment of the several sums advanced. But as this could be done by comparatively few, no extensive benefit was afforded. For the current service 12,000,000 were borrowed for Great Britain and Ireland, and 12,000,000 of exchequer-bills were funded. A vote of credit also passed for 3,000,000. Bank-notes being at this period at a discount of 20 to 30 per cent. in exchange for gold coin, an act, which seemed indeed the necessary corollary of the present system, passed, by which no person could be held to bail for any debt, who tendered bank-notes in payment; or execution entered for rent: also, making it penal to take Bank of England notes at a value less than they nominally bore. To such evils, and to such strange and dangerous remedies for those evils, was the country now exposed and reduced.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

An adventurous step was adopted by the Prince Regent in the re-instatement (May 25) of the duke of York as commander-in-chief. But by this time, calm reflection had succeeded to passionate exaggeration; and the country at large thought that sufficient atonement had been made by the mortifying exposures which had taken place, and the two years' submissive retirement from office. An high-spirited motion was nevertheless made in the house of

Re-instatement of the Duke of York.

BOOK
XL.

1811.

commons by lord Milton, “that the advisers of this measure were chargeable with impropriety and indecorum.” The chancellor of the exchequer “admitted the responsibility of ministers; but said that the late commander, sir David Dundas, having expressed a wish to retire, ministers had no doubt whom to recommend; the duke of York’s eminent qualifications for that post leaving them no choice; and no vote had passed the house to preclude his future restoration.” The motion was negatived by a vast majority of 296 to 47 voices; and the army was no less gratified than the public were satisfied, at a change confessedly and highly beneficial.

Military
Regula-
tions.

Much had been recently said and written against the savage practice of *flogging* in the army; and while the mutiny-bill was pending, a clause was inserted at the motion of Mr. Manners Sutton, empowering courts martial to substitute at their discretion the punishment of imprisonment. A bill also passed, authorizing an interchange of the militias of Great Britain and Ireland, not exceeding the proportion of one-third. By a clause of this bill, Irish catholics serving in England were entitled to all the civil, military, and religious exemptions which they possessed in Ireland.

This was the equitable measure in relation to which the fanatical cry of “No Popery” had been raised against the late ministers.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

At an advanced period of the session, lord Sidmouth moved for leave to bring in a bill *for amending and explaining the provisions of the toleration act.* The number of petitions against this bill from all parts of the kingdom, and from all classes of dissenters, astonished and appalled the house. Nor was the alarm thus taken without foundation; as this crude and indigested alteration, stiled *an amendment* of that sacred charter of religious liberty, entirely subverted the principle of it. For the act of toleration merely requires the *register* of the place of worship at the quarter-session, and certificate of the minister officiating in the same, without vesting the slightest discretion in the court: whereas the present bill invested the justices with the dangerous power of judging of the *testimonials*, and virtually of the *qualifications*, of those who applied for what was, in language wholly unauthorised by the act, now stiled a *licence*. This might indeed operate to the exclusion of some illiterate and incompetent individuals; but it would likewise subject persons of a very different description to the *veto* of ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice.

Bill for
amending
the Tolera-
tion Act.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

Happily and wisely, on the second reading, this justly obnoxious bill was postponed to a distant day.

On the 24th of July 1811, the parliament was prorogued by commission; the speech delivered in the name of the Regent expressing “great satisfaction with all the measures of the session, and exhorting to prosecute the war with increased activity and vigour.”

Catholic
Convention
held in
Dublin.

On the 9th of July, an aggregate meeting had been held in Dublin, for the appointment of delegates to the general committee of catholics; on which occasion five persons were apprehended by warrant from the lord chief-justice Downes, for a breach of the convention act; one of whom, Dr. Sheridan, was brought to trial in the king’s bench. But as the proceedings relative to this delegation had been carefully guarded by the catholic lawyers, it was matter of great doubt whether the provisions of the act had in reality been violated; and in opposition to the opinion of the chief-justice, the jury returned a verdict of “Not guilty.” The attorney-general Saurin wisely desisted, therefore, from all farther prosecution. In conclusion, the committee of delegates, so much the subject of alarm, assembled in Dublin, October 19th, to the number of about 300; the earl of Fingal, a

catholic nobleman of the highest respectability and distinguished loyalty, being called to the chair. Another petition to parliament was proposed, and unanimously approved; and when the police magistrates arrived in haste to disperse the meeting as an unlawful assembly, they found it already dissolved. On the second meeting, December 23d, the assembly was actually dispersed by the civil authority; some days after which, a meeting of the catholics in Dublin was held, by whom resolutions were passed, complaining “of the perversion of law and the abuse of power.” These proceedings gave real concern to the advocates of the catholic cause in England, and afforded matter both of argument and exultation to its enemies.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

The Iberian peninsula still remained the grand scene of interest and action. Though the successes and disasters of this complicated warfare were nearly balanced, the final conquest of Spain by the French invaders seemed more remote than ever. On general Massena's falling back on Santarem, lord Wellington advanced to Cartaxo, whence he could watch the movements of his adversary and cut off his supplies. At length the French commander, in despair of planting his eagles on the forts of Lisbon, broke up his strong camp at San-

Military
Operations
in Spain.

Retreat of
General
Massena.

BOOK
XL.

1811.
Official
dispatch,
March 4.

tares, and leaving behind part of his heavy artillery, began his march to the Mondego. His retreat, though conducted with great military skill, is said to have been also distinguished “by barbarities rarely equalled, and never surpassed.” Notwithstanding this savage policy, the French army suffered extremely from incessant attacks; and it was not without the loss of a large proportion of his stores and baggage, as well as troops, that general Massena on the 2d of April (1811,) passed the Coia into Spain. Almeida being thus left to its fate, was evacuated by the garrison.

Official
Accounts,
May 8-10.

During this interval, important events had taken place on the side of Estremadura. Early in the year, marshal Soult advanced upon the south of Portugal; and in February (1811,) the fortress of Olivenza was reduced, and the garrison made prisoners of war. In the following month, the strongly garrisoned city of Badajoz, the bulwark of that frontier, capitulated on the same humiliating terms, though it was known that lord Wellington was preparing with all diligence for its relief. On transmitting this intelligence to the regency of Portugal, the English commander indignantly observed, “that the Spanish nation had lost in the course of two months the for-

tresses of Tortosa, Olivenza, and Badajoz, without sufficient cause; and 22,000 Spanish troops had been destroyed or captured." These disasters were inadequately compensated by the gallant exertions of general Graham, who, with the Spanish general La Pena, had been engaged in an expedition from Cadiz against the blockading army, then weakened by detachments. A sharp encounter occurred, March 5th, on the heights of Barossa, between the main body of the enemy under marshal Victor, and the British division, unassisted by the Spanish commander, after two successive messages. The French were, notwithstanding, finally repulsed with the loss of 3000 men. The laurels of victory were thus acquired without the fruits of it; the troops returning immediately to Cadiz. General La Pena was subsequently broke by the Spanish government; and the honours of a grandee of Spain, of the first class, conferred upon general Graham.

BOOK
XL.

1811.

Battle of
Barossa.

After leaving garrisons in Olivenza and Badajoz, marshal Soult returned to Seville; on which the generals Beresford and Castanos crossed the Guadiana. Olivenza surrendering April 15th, it was determined, in an interview with lord Wellington at Elvas, to lay siege to Badajoz; the operations of which were carried

Official
Dispatches,
June 2.

BOOK
XL.

1811.

on with vigour until the 12th May, when the re-advance of marshal Soult was announced by general Blake, who joined the army with a body of troops from Cadiz. At a council of war then held, the three commanders resolved to give battle to the enemy. With this view the siege of Badajoz was raised, and the army took a strong position fronting the banks of the Albuera, and extending to the village of that name, on the summit of a gradual ascent from the river.

Battle of
Albuera.

Early on the 16th May the French passed the stream in great force, designing to attack the Spaniards posted under general Blake on the right, and to turn that wing of the allies. After an obstinate resistance, the enemy gained the heights which commanded the whole position. But while the most strenuous efforts were making to dislodge them, and the English brigades headed by general Stewart were actually charging with fixed bayonets, they were themselves charged by a body of Polish cavalry-lancers in the rear, who did terrible execution. But sir Lowry Cole bringing up the reserve at a critical moment, the enemy were at length driven from the heights with great slaughter. Their attack on the village and the bridge in the centre, was likewise successfully repelled by baron Alten of the German

legion, which, with the division of general Hamilton, defended that post; and the whole French army, after six hours' fighting, repassed the Albuera with some precipitation, but could not be pursued, from the great deficiency of the allies in cavalry. "Never," says marshal Beresford, "did troops more gloriously maintain the honour of their respective countries." General Stewart refused, after two wounds, to quit the field. General Hoghton, leading his brigade to the charge, fell at their head. "The Portuguese under general Hamilton evinced," adds the marshal, "the utmost steadiness and courage, and manœuvred equally well with the British." The Spanish generals Blake, Castanos, and Ballasteros, signalized their zeal and valour; and marshal Soult himself is said to have acknowledged, "that in the long course of his military service, he had never before witnessed so desperate and sanguinary a conflict."

BOOK
XL.
1811.

In this remarkable engagement, no less than six different nations were at once shedding their blood in mortal combat; British, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, French, and Poles. The French army consisted of near 30,000 men, of which number 4000 at least were cavalry. The allies were superior in infantry, but their cavalry did not exceed

BOOK
XL.

1811.

Siege of
Badajoz.

2000. The total loss in killed and wounded amounted to about 6000 men; that of the French must have been still greater; and before day-break on the 18th, marshal Soult began his retrograde march to Seville.

The siege of Badajoz now recommenced under lord Wellington in person. That fortress was, however, of great strength; and the garrison, though with little prospect of relief, defended the place with extraordinary resolution. In two assaults on fort Christoval, the allies were repulsed with great slaughter. Meantime marshal Soult was collecting forces for its relief jointly with marshal Marmont, the successor of Massena; and on the approach of the two marshals, lord Wellington finding himself much inferior in strength, retired to the right bank of the Guadiana; and thence, after a short interval, he removed his wearied troops during the great heats into cantonments in the Lower Beira.

Towards the close of September the British commander again took the field, threatening the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo; but before he could complete his preparations, general Marmont assembled a vast force, amounting to 60,000 men, with the view of turning the left of his position, and either cutting off his retreat, or forcing him to a battle; but his able

antagonist, aware of his design, made a timely movement beyond the Coya; and Marmont withdrew towards Salamanca. During these operations, general Hill, who had been detached from the main army, being joined by a Spanish force, surprised and totally defeated (October 28th) a corps of the French under general Girard at Arroyo del Molino, the enemy losing 2000 men, with their artillery and baggage.

BOOK
XL.
1811.

On the east of the Peninsula, the fortress of Balaguer, one of the strongest in Catalonia, was early in the year carried by storm; and about the beginning of May, marshal Suchet invested the important maritime city of Tarragona. Aided by the efforts of the British fleet, the garrison made an able defence. But on the 28th June the town was taken after a furious assault, in which the unfortunate inhabitants suffered every species of outrage. Figueras, which had been surprised by the Spaniards, was recovered by the French during the summer; and in September, Suchet entered the kingdom of Valencia, where he was opposed by general Blake, who had resorted thither from Andalusia. An engagement took place on the 25th October, in which the Spaniards were defeated; and the victory of Suchet was followed by the surrender of

Successes
of the
French in
Catalonia.

BOOK
XL.1811.
Capture of
Valencia.

Murviedro. General Blake retired to his entrenched camp near the city of Valencia; where a second engagement took place November 26th, still more disastrous than the former. The camp was afterwards forced; and the Spanish army found no other refuge than the city, which was immediately invested. After a severe bombardment of three days, general Blake, to the general astonishment, agreed to a capitulation; and Valencia, hitherto so nobly defended, was surrendered with 18,000 troops of the line, including 800 officers, and military stores to a vast amount. Marshal Suchet then made himself master of almost every fortress in that kingdom, excepting Alicant.

Proceed.

In the beginning of the year (1811) the Spanish cortes issued a proclamation refusing to recognise any act of Ferdinand VII. while under restraint. They passed a decree prohibiting the torture; they referred to a committee the proposition of abolishing the slave-trade; and made great progress in their plans for the formation of a free constitution; but their policy respecting the Western World was tainted with antient prejudice, ill suited to present times and circumstances.

State of the
Spanish
Colonies.

Almost the whole of Spanish America was now involved in the calamities of civil war. In Mexico the royalists obtained a decided

ascendancy. But the confederate states of Venezuela, having placed Miranda at the head of their forces, published a declaration of independence, expressed in the glowing language of liberty, now become familiar on both sides of the Atlantic. In the province of Paraguay, hostilities were carried on between the cities of Buenos Ayres and Monte-Video: general Elio, recently appointed viceroy, fixing his residence in the latter, attempted with a squadron of armed ships to obstruct the navigation of the La Plata. On the other hand, a land-force from Buenos Ayres invested the town of Monte-Video; upon which the Portuguese government sent a body of forces from Brazil to the aid of the Spanish viceroy Elio.

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1811.

In Saint Domingo, Christophe, the Negro chief, caused himself to be crowned, according to the European ceremonial, king of the island, under the antient name of Hayti; instituting various ranks of nobility, an order of knighthood, an hierarchy, and all the usual appendages of an established and legitimate monarchy.

Kingdom
of Hayti
established.

Early in this year, Mr. Foster was sent to the American states as envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary. But so long as the English government was determined to maintain the fatal orders in council, nothing could be

Extraordi-
nary Mis-
sion to the
United
States.

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1811.

effected. An accidental encounter occurred in the month of May, originating in some point of naval etiquette, between a British and an American frigate. The two governments equally disavowed intentional hostility; but all tended to mutual irritation. On the meeting of the congress, November 4th (1811), the president Maddison announced “the necessity of putting the United States into an *armour* and attitude, demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectation.”

Maritime
Operations.

A bold attempt was made by the Danes, in the month of March, to recover the isle of Anholt; but they suffered a severe repulse from the English garrison; and in the attempt to retreat to their boats, some hundreds were made prisoners. The English fleet in the Baltic, under admiral Saumarez, found no opponents, and attempted no hostilities. He even allowed the Swedish coasting vessels to pass unmolested. It was indeed evident, that the courts of Saint Petersburg and Stockholm did not act in concert with that of France, or were disposed to favour the grand project of excluding Britain from all commercial intercourse with the Continent. The English trade to Russia was far too valuable to be relinquished on the arbitrary demand of the French

Misunder-
standing
between
Russia and
France.

emperor. British colonial produce, notwithstanding the treaty of Tilsit, had invariably been admitted into the Russian ports in neutral bottoms; and the growing differences between Russia and France again excited attention. The campaign against Turkey had terminated with brilliant success; and the grand vizier, who had in the former part of it crossed the Danube, was after various sanguinary conflicts compelled to repass the river, not without sustaining immense losses of every kind; and conferences for a peace, towards the close of the year, were anew held at Giurgewo.

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1811.

Successes
of Russia
on the Da-
nube.

An event exciting apparently universal joy throughout France was the birth of an heir to the empire, on the 20th of April (1811), who was christened in great pomp by the name of Napoleon; and upon this infant was conferred the strange title of king of Rome. In an elaborate harangue, addressed by the emperor to the legislative body, June 16, he declared the union of the papal territories to the empire. Also of Holland and the Valais. The former is said "to be but an emanation of the empire; without Holland it would not be complete. The union of the Valais was considered as necessary to conciliate the interests of Switzerland with those of France and Italy." To an address presented August 18th from the new

Birth of the
King of
Rome.

State of
France.

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1811.

department of La Lippe, he said, “ the town of Munster belonged to an ecclesiastical sovereign. Deplorable effect of ignorance and superstition! You were without country. Providence, *who willed that I should restore the throne of Charlemagne*, has made you *naturally* enter with Holland and the Hanse Towns into the bosom of the empire.”

In evident allusion to the political jealousies recently arisen on the part of Russia, the emperor remarks “ that war over every part of the Continent is that which can alone ensure the prosperity of the English—I wish,” said he, “ for nothing that is not in the treaties I have concluded. I will never sacrifice the blood of my people to interests that are not immediately the interests of the empire. I flatter myself that the peace of the Continent will not be disturbed.” A French national ecclesiastical council was about this period convened at Paris: to them it was announced “ that the pope’s refusal to institute the bishops nominated to the vacant sees had *nullified* the concordate.” The assembled prelates, however, would not admit that the sees could be regularly filled up without the intervention of the pope; and they affirmed “ that the exercise of any such authority by the

civil power would be subversive of the unity of the catholic church."

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1811.

Avoiding to enter into any religious controversy, he departed towards the close of the summer on a visit to Boulogne, Flushing, and Antwerp; at all which places vast naval preparations were going forward. At Amsterdam, whither he afterwards repaired, he was received, as conquerors will ever be received, with all the external demonstrations of joy. On his return to Paris, he made an immediate call for 120,000 conscripts, destined to the service of the year 1812. Prussia had by this time been compelled to join the Rhenish confederation; the duchy of Oldenburg was annexed to the empire of France, "as a necessary appendage to the Hanse Towns," though the Duke of Oldenburg was allied in blood, and also by marriage with the sister of the emperor Alexander, to the imperial house of Russia. Notice moreover was given to the several powers of the Rhenish league, to furnish their respective contingents: but the most decisive evidence of the near approach of war, was a rescript published by the emperor of Austria, directing "that a free passage and all necessary supplies should be granted to the French troops on their march through his territories."

Warlike
Prepara-
tions in
the French
Ports.

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1811.
Conquest
of Java.

By far the most splendid naval achievement of the year was the conquest of the isle of Java, by a great armament fitted out from Madras, under the immediate auspices of lord Minto, who accompanied the expedition in person: and the troops were placed under the able command of sir Samuel Auchmuty. A landing was effected without opposition, August 5th, a few leagues east of the city of Batavia, which surrendered almost on the first summons; the Dutch forces under general Jansens, amounting to 10,000 strong, retiring to an entrenched camp near Cornelis. Here they were attacked by the British on the 26th, and after a gallant resistance the lines were forced, the fort of Cornelis stormed, and the Dutch army routed with terrible slaughter. Soon after this, an armistice took place, and a capitulation ensued, in virtue of which the island of Java was added to the numerous conquests of Britain in the eastern and western worlds;—brilliant but cumbrous acquisitions, adding in a dangerous degree to the enormous expense of the national establishments, and the equally enormous patronage of the crown.

Naval
Achievements.

Opposing fleets were no longer to be found on the ocean; but in the absence of the pride and pomp of war, the public attention was attracted by a remarkably gallant action of

BOOK
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1811.

commodore Hoste, who with four frigates engaged, March 13th, a French armament on the coast of Dalmatia, consisting of five frigates and six armed vessels, with 500 troops on board. After a severe action, the flag-ship of the enemy was driven on the rocks, two others struck, and the whole armament was dispersed or destroyed. Another action of the same heroic cast took place in May, off the coast of Madagascar, between three frigates commanded by captain Schomberg, and three French frigates of superior force. After two days' fighting, the French commodore of forty-four guns struck; and another frigate was captured after storming a fort, under the guns of which she had sought refuge. Towards the close of the year (December 24th), one of the most destructive tempests which had occurred in the memory of man proved fatal to the *Hero* of seventy-four guns, returning with a convoy from Wingo Sound, which ran upon a sand-bank near the Texel, with others of the convoy. On the same day the *Saint-George* of ninety-eight guns, and the *Defence* of seventy-four guns, were stranded on the Danish coast, and almost the whole of the crews perished.

The only branch of the house of Bourbon which retained any reliques of its former dig-

State of
Sicily.

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1811.

Salte's
Travels in
Sicily, &c.O'Meara,
Saint-
Helena,
II. p. 138.

nity was that which reigned in Sicily by the courtesy of Great Britain. Yet the conduct of the court of Palermo, and particularly of the queen, who governed the king and kingdom, was such as to make it difficult to determine upon the measures best adapted to the present critical circumstances. A British force had been maintained at a vast expense in the island, and subsidies granted to the monarch, which had been perverted to purposes far different from defence. As the reigning family were notoriously the objects of the public scorn and abhorrence, it was deemed highly requisite by the British government that some political reforms should be effected for the general satisfaction. But this design called forth all the rage of the queen; and was much more the object of her apprehension, than any consequences that could result from putting herself under the protection of the French emperor. Such of the nobles as were disposed to the French interest were favourably received at court, while those who were known to be attached to Great Britain were persecuted or imprisoned. "That wicked woman the queen of Sicily," according to the affirmation of Napoleon himself, "proposed to him to make a second Sicilian vespers; to massacre all the English in Sicily, if he would support her after-

wards." Lord William Bentinck, appointed
ambassador to the court of Palermo, had
scarcely landed when he found its disposition
such as made it necessary to return for fresh
instructions.

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1811.

The parliament of the united kingdom was
opened by commission, January 7th, 1812.
The council appointed to assist the queen, and
who were directed by the regency-act to
make a report every three months of the state
of the King's health, had hitherto encouraged
the expectation of a favourable result. They
now, however, acknowledged "that in the
opinion of all the physicians his Majesty's
complete and final recovery was improbable."

1812.

Session of
Parlia-
ment,
January 7.

The year of restriction and limitation was
on the point of expiring, and a strong per-
suasion still prevailed of a material change
both in relation to men and measures. Of
this, however, there was not the slightest in-
dication in the speech delivered by the lord
chancellor in the name of the regent. The
successes of the Spanish war, the consum-
mate skill of lord Wellington, the capture of
the islands of Java, Bourbon, and Mauritius,
were dwelt upon with satisfaction. "As to
America, the prince regent," it was said, "will
continue to employ such means of conciliation
as may be consistent with the honour and dig-

Speech of
the Prince
Regent.

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1812.

nity of his Majesty's crown, and the maritime rights of the empire. It was recommended to parliament to resume the consideration of the *finances of Ireland*; and the two houses were assured that his royal highness derived the greatest consolation from his reliance on their experienced wisdom, loyalty, and public spirit. The addresses were voted in both houses after much discussion, without a division.

Household
Regulation
Bill.

The first measure brought forward by the minister subsequent to the presentation of the addresses, caused very general surprise. For it did not at all enter into any calculation yet made, that the malady of the King could possibly be attended with any increase of the expenses of the court. Rather might it be supposed, that in consequence of the deep seclusion of the monarch, and the addition to the civil list of the regent's own revenue, that a large surplus must accrue. But as the two grand political parties were now contending for favour, the season was propitious for bringing forward the new demands; and in a committee of the house of commons, January 16, Mr. Perceval moved, that an addition be granted to the civil list to the amount of 70,000*l.*, the sum of 10,000*l.* being paid therefrom to the queen, "to meet her majesty's

extraordinary expenses." "Also, as provision ought to be made for defraying the unavoidable expense incident to the *assumption of royalty* by the prince, he should propose the sum of 100,000*l.* to be voted for that purpose."

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1812.

On this occasion Mr. Perceval made a memorable observation. "In every year," said he, "since 1804, the expenditure of the civil list has greatly exceeded the amount as then fixed. When this excess was first seen, and on every subsequent year, an account of such excess should have been laid before the house. On the contrary, from that time to this, no notice has been taken of this excess, but things have gone on, as if the expense had not exceeded the estimate. He therefore *meant* to propose, that whenever such excess should in future occur, it should of itself be regarded as a subject of parliamentary attention."

On the report of the resolutions, Mr. Creevy declared "that he should not have risen, had he not perceived that the means of meeting the increased expenditure were in part to be derived from the *droits* of admiralty. This he protested against, because he regarded those *droits* as the property of the country; nor could he bring his mind to believe, that when his Majesty's civil list was settled at 800,000*l.* it was in contemplation that a fund of 8,000,000*l.*

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1812.

should likewise be left at the entire disposal of his Majesty. And in the event of an American war, this would probably be accumulated by sweeping the seas of her merchant-men, and converting the immense produce to ministerial purposes."

The bill "for regulating his Majesty's household," as it was stiled, passed through the house of commons with more of dissatisfaction than direct opposition. In the upper house, lord Grenville observed "that though the bill was not such as he could entirely approve, he felt the difficulty attending the task of making provision for a case so new and extraordinary." Pending this discussion, Mr. Brougham moved a series of resolutions relative to the *droits* of the admiralty, all tending to the appropriation of the sums arising therefrom to the exigencies of the state. These were negatived in a deserted house by a majority of 94 to 26 voices.

Motion of
Enquiry re-
specting
Ireland.
House of
Lords.

On the 31st of January, earl Fitzwilliam moved an enquiry into the present state of Ireland. "Whatever," said this distinguished nobleman, "*might once* have been the justice of the policy excluding the catholics from the pale of the constitution, the considerations which dictated that exclusion had long ceased to operate. No possible reason could be now

drawn from reference to the claims of a family which had become utterly extinct, for continuing those disabilities which naturally tended to produce irritation and discontent, which at this moment existed to an alarming degree. Every consideration of policy and safety called upon us to allay and remove this angry spirit by timely conciliation."

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1812.

The motion was strongly supported by the dukes of Devonshire and Bedford. "Why would not government," said the latter of these noblemen, "hold out to the catholics the hand of friendship and peace? Then all hearts would be engaged in defence of every thing we all hold dear, at a time when the exertions of a daring and insidious foe rendered it more than ever necessary that we should be united in one common cause for a common interest." Marquis Wellesley spoke ably on the same side, though qualified with the acknowledgement, "that deeply impressed as he was with the necessity of admitting the catholics into the bosom of the constitution, he could not agree that the present was a time to grant the concessions in question; and he thought that their late conduct must form a great obstacle to the attainment of their purpose, and tended to close against themselves every avenue which might lead to it." The earl of Liverpool de-

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1812.

precated the idea “ of extorting concessions from parliament ; and he hoped that the house would never think of going into a committee, till they knew what was expected from them. Let the advocates for the catholics lay upon the table of that house a bill which should unequivocally state what their claims were, and all persons might then form a judgment respecting them.”

Lord Grenville terminated the debate, which lasted through a long winter's night, with an eloquent speech, in which he challenged ministers “ to prove that what was required for the safety of the whole empire was unsafe for the established church. Treat the catholics with kindness ; then will irritation and resentment vanish. Shew that you have confidence in them, and they will place confidence in you. The charter of catholic emancipation will impart to the protestant a security which he never can obtain by oppression.” On the division 79 peers voted for, and 162 against the motion.

Ib. Ib.
House of
Commons.

Upon the 3d February, lord Morpeth brought forward and ably enforced the same measure in the house of commons. Mr. Canning made a brilliant speech in its favour, qualified, however, in the same manner with that of marquis Wellesley : and after a debate which lasted two

nights, and drew forth almost all the principal speakers, the motion was lost by a majority of 229 to 135 voices.

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1812.

The anticipations of whigs and tories, for these obsolete terms had once more come into common use, were for many months nearly balanced in relation to the future; but the general opinion had of late much inclined to the probability of the continuance in office of the present ministers. The decided approval expressed by the regent of the specific measures adopted by them respecting Spain, Ireland, and America, on each of which they differed from the great whig leaders, and the act recently passed for regulating the royal household, so courtly in its complexion, all tended to the same conclusion; but conjecture soon changed into certainty.

On the 13th February, the prince of Wales addressed a singular letter to the duke of York; in which he declared, “that the restrictions of the regency-act being about to expire, he must make his arrangements for the future administration; his sentiments relative to which he had hitherto withheld, from his earnest desire that the expected motion of the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration. He could not reflect

Letter of
the Regent
to the
Duke of
York.

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1812.

without pleasure on the events which had distinguished the short period of his restricted regency. And in regard to the war in the Peninsula, I shall," said his royal highness, "be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system ; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. *I have no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify.*—Having made this communication, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel if *some* of those persons, with whom the early habits of my public life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will communicate them to lord Grenville."

But never could it be imagined that the lords Grey and Grenville, who had rejected with disdain the far more respectful overture of 1809, would now condescend to *constitute a part* of Mr. Perceval's administration. In a letter bearing the signature of the two lords, in reply to the duke of York, they say, "we must express without reserve the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Our

differences of opinion are too many, and too important, to admit of such union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember that we have already *twice* acted on this impression: in 1809, on the overture then made to us under his Majesty's authority; and last year, when his royal highness was pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new government."

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1812.

Previous to this transaction, marquis Wellesley, finding the decided ascendancy of Mr. Perceval in the cabinet, had notified, in no flattering terms, his resolution to resign; and every prospect of forming a cabinet of a different description being thus at an end, he delivered the seals of secretary for the foreign department into the hands of the regent, who transferred them to viscount Castlereagh.

Resignation of
Marquis
Wellesley.

On the 19th March, an address to the prince regent was moved in the upper house by lord Boringdon, expressing "the anxious hope of the house, that an administration might yet be formed, which, by conciliating the affections of all descriptions of the community, might most effectually call forth the entire resources of the united kingdom." This occasioned a long debate, in the course of which earl Grey declared "the present administra-

Motion of
Lord Bo-
ringdon.

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XL.

1812.

tion to be formed on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims. This was the principle by which the person then at the head of affairs made his way to power. The eternal exclusion of the catholics from the benefits of the constitution was his boast. Such was the insurmountable obstacle to the union, in many respects so desirable." On the division, the motion of lord Boringdon was supported by 65 only against 172 peers; the present ministers evidently commanding the whole weight of regal influence.

Provision
for the
Princesses.

In pursuance of a message from the prince regent, Mr. Perceval at this period of the session moved the house of commons to make such provision for the four unmarried princesses, Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, as if the King were actually defunct. This, with the eventual benefit of survivorship, by which the annuity would to the ultimate survivor be raised to 12,000*l.*, the minister proposed to fix at the aggregate sum of 36,000*l.* in addition to that of 16,000*l.* which they now received from the civil list. In making this proposition, however, he fairly acknowledged that there existed no purpose of removing from their present asylum.

It was admitted that these grants were not too great for separate establishments: but why

were they to be made in the mere contemplation of an event allowed to be distant and unlikely to take place? Or if these demands were proper, why was not an adequate provision made for the princess of Wales, who now lived in retirement, and in a state of separation from the prince regent? Mr. Perceval confessed "that on this subject he was not authorized, nor did he feel himself called upon, to make any specific statement." But he explicitly declared, "that he knew of no charge that could possibly be brought against the princess." At length the bill founded upon the royal message passed into a law.

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1812.

On the 25th March, lord Castlereagh moved the accustomed subsidy of 400,000*l.* to the king of Sicily. "He had the satisfaction to state, that his Sicilian majesty had made an important change in his councils; that he had delegated his authority for a time to the prince his son, and placed the military force of his kingdom under the control of the English ambassador, lord William Bentinck, who had demanded that the Sicilian government should be put upon such a footing as to make it compatible with the safety of the British army during its continuance on the island. Under these circumstances, the queen, divested of all influence, had retired from Palermo.

Subsidy to
Sicily.

BOOK
XL.1812.
Motion for
the Relief
of the Ca-
tholics.Earl of
Donough-
more.

Many petitions having been presented by the catholics of Ireland, and also from several bodies of protestants, for the removal of the catholic disabilities, the earl of Donoughmore, on the 21st April, moved that a committee be appointed to take into consideration the laws imposing the same; and this motion he supported with great earnestness and animation. This nobleman expressed “ his regret that the question had not come before the house with all the weight and authority of government. A recommendation from the throne to this effect could not indeed be reasonably expected for the last ten years, but surely there was no ground for suspecting the existence of any such obstruction now. At all events, they had the advantage of the facts, the reasonings, and the experience of the past. The house had two important functions to discharge: the one, to conciliate a large proportion of the population of the empire, driven by impolicy and rashness to the brink of despair; the other, to deliver the nation from the obstinate incompetency of the present rulers. We must expect a hard struggle, a resistance decided and formidable from those who have created the mischief, or brought it to maturity. If by such a combination our best efforts should be defeated for a time, it is to the returning wis-

dom and justice of parliament, that the catholics are still to look for ultimate redress. BOOK XL.
 Brave and much injured countrymen ! do not 1812.
 take counsel from despair. Confide in the
 energies of the British constitution, of which
 you are the joint inheritors, and which all the
 corruptions of ministers have been insufficient
 to extinguish. I will not permit myself to
 doubt of the salvation of my country, encom-
 passed though it be by difficulties and dangers ;
 and I trust there is yet in store for this united
 kingdom a long and a bright train of pros-
 perity and glory."

The ensuing debate was distinguished by an excellent speech in support of the motion, by the duke of Sussex. Duke of Sussex. "The civil immunities so earnestly solicited could, I am convinced," said this generous and enlightened prince, "neither endanger church or state. Lost indeed must that church be, whose existence depended on depriving any body of citizens, on account of their adherence to their own religious opinions, of their civil rights and privileges. Should the safety of the church be utterly inconsistent with the exercise of those rights, as to the majority of the population in any country, it would be in a condition most deplorable, most dangerous. Such, however, are not my fears ; and I trust that the time is

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1812.

not far distant, when all exclusive systems will be blotted from our constitution; and the union of the two countries will not be found merely to exist in an act of parliament, but to dwell in the hearts of both, under every diversity of civil or religious denomination."

The division in favour of the motion was 103 to 174 peers. And on a similar motion by Mr. Grattan, in the house of commons, the numbers, in the largest division ever known, were 215 to 300; so that this great cause had evidently made a considerable advance.

Orders in
Council
discussed in
Parliament.

Mr. Perceval had with much difficulty been prevailed upon to hear evidence at the bar of the house, respecting the orders in council; the pernicious effects of which had become daily more manifest, by the rapidly increasing distress of the commercial world. By the facts adduced and the consequent pleadings, the majority of the house were very forcibly impressed; the minister himself, indeed, remaining almost the only individual unmoved. While the question was still pending, a most extraordinary and tragical event deprived the administration of its principal support, and excited a general sensation of amazement and horror. As Mr. Perceval was passing through the lobby of the house of commons, on the afternoon of the 11th of May, a person of the

Death of
Mr. Perceval.

name of Bellingham, levelling a pistol at his breast, shot him through the heart. It was on examination discovered that the assassin, who had in vain applied to ministers for the redress of some grievance, real or imaginary, which he had sustained in his commercial transactions while resident in Russia, had determined in his dark and melancholy mind, which approximated to insanity, on this mode of revenge. But as this atrocious act was the result of a calm and deliberate purpose, he was justly deemed morally and legally responsible; and, upon the fairest judicial evidence, he paid the wretched forfeit of his life.

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1812.

In conformity to a message from the prince regent, an ample provision was made for the family of Mr. Perceval, in which all parties concurred, as well as in their testimony to his uprightness in office. Though as an opponent to the late administration his speeches were often bitter, in the capacity of minister his candour and command of temper were conspicuous. That there was in fact nothing of rancour in his disposition, appeared from his liberal overture of 1809 to his political adversaries; and those who were best acquainted with his domestic virtues, attested in impressive language the excellence of his character.

His Character.

BOOK
XL.1812.
Ministerial
Interreg-
num.

In consequence of the great loss sustained in the cabinet, application was made by lord Liverpool, in the prince's name, to marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning; but they declined all coalescence with the present ministers, who on their part were far from being disposed to resign. After a short interval of ministerial interregnum, Mr. Stuart Wortley, a man of independent character, and usually a supporter of government, moved (May 21st) that an humble address be presented to the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take such measures as are best calculated to form a strong and efficient administration. This was seconded by lord Milton, and carried by 174 to 170 voices. The prince returned for answer, "that he would take it into his serious and immediate consideration."

The marquis Wellesley was the person entrusted by the regent to form a new ministerial arrangement, of which he was to be himself the head. But the earl of Liverpool and the other members of the existing cabinet peremptorily refused to take any part in this arrangement. Lord Wellesley had applied at the same time to the lords Grey and Grenville, who also without hesitation declined his proposals. On Wednesday June 3d, the marquis

declared in the house of peers, "that he had that day surrendered his commission, lamenting *that dreadful personal animosities* should have interposed obstacles to prevent that union of parties which was so desirable." This singular expression was afterwards explained to refer to his late associates in office, though the charge was indignantly denied by all.

BOOK
XL.
1812.

The task of arrangement with full powers was now transferred to the earl of Moira, whose political sentiments were known to be in perfect unison with those of the lords Grey and Grenville on the great points now at issue: and the nation was well prepared to hail the appointment of a new administration, of which earl Grey, who possessed far beyond any other individual the confidence of the nation, should be the head.

Second
Overture
to the
Whigs.

The sanguine hopes now formed were, nevertheless, by a strange fatality, wholly disappointed. The offices of lord-chamberlain and vice-chamberlain were at this time filled by the marquis of Hertford and his son the earl of Yarmouth, who were known to stand high in personal favour with the regent; though neither did it appear that they possessed any political influence, or that their political opinions were adverse to the whigs. Unfor-

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1812.

tunately, differences of moment had arisen during the negotiation of 1806, between the ministers then at the head of affairs and the earl of Yarmouth, who had to the last enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Fox, and whose spirited vindication of his conduct had given perfect satisfaction to all the genuine advocates of peace throughout the kingdom. The political alienation thus created had taken deep root; insomuch that the lords Grey and Grenville deemed it requisite to demand as a preliminary, that the great household offices should be comprehended in the general change. A *milder*, which is for the most part but another word for a *wiser* policy, would have respected the personal feelings of the prince, who had now made such ample political concessions; and it was known to all, that many changes of administration had taken place without touching the household offices. The powers with which the earl of Moira was vested on this occasion, were unlimited; but such was the offence taken by him at this unusual requisition, that the negotiation broke off almost at the commencement. Lord Yarmouth hesitated not subsequently to declare, “that neither his father nor himself entertained the most distant idea of remaining in office,

had the overture of the earl of Moira been acceded to.”

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Both negotiations having thus failed, the prince regent (June 9th) appointed the earl of Liverpool first lord commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Harrowby, late Mr. Ryder, was declared president of the council. Lords Bathurst, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh, were secretaries of state; viscount Melville, late Mr. Robert Dundas, was promoted to the admiralty, in the room of Mr. Yorke, who was gratified by a tellership of the exchequer. Lord Eldon continued chancellor, lord Westmorland privy-seal; and the earl of Moira, now honoured with the garter, was appointed governor-general of India, an office for which he was deemed peculiarly qualified. The public, sensible that the regent had not been wanting in his efforts to form such an administration as the times demanded, acquiesced without any expressions of dissatisfaction in the present arrangement.

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Earl of
Liverpool
First Minister.

Earl of
Moira appointed
Governor-general of
India.

Soon after his accession to office, Mr. Vansittart brought forward his plan of finance, or rather, as he said, that of his lamented predecessor, for the current year. The whole of the supply demanded for the united kingdom was 58,000,000*l*. Of this grand aggregate,

Statement
of Finance.

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1812.

the sum of 15,650,000*l.* was raised by loan for Great Britain; and for Ireland, a separate loan of 4,350,000*l.* Near 10,000,000*l.* were funded of exchequer-bills; the war-taxes were estimated at 20,400,000*l.*; a vote of credit passed for 3,000,000*l.*; and the urgent necessities of the East India company required the sum of two millions and half. The annual taxes and consolidated fund furnished the remainder of the supply; and new taxes were imposed to the amount of 1,903,000*l.* Amidst the astonishing profusion which marked the expenditure of the present war, it was some consolation to reflect, that Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Perceval, had equally held sacred the sinking fund established in 1786, with the applause of all parties, and secured by the most anxious regulations and sanctions which the law could bestow; and from that period, every government loan had been negotiated upon the wise and equitable principle, of a surplus of interest applicable to the eventual discharge of the principal.

Resolution
for the Re-
lief of the
Catholics.

A resolution moved by Mr. Canning, June 22d, “that this house will early in the next session take into consideration the state of the laws respecting the catholics,” was supported by lord Castlereagh; who observed, “that the obstacles which formerly existed having been

removed, the time was now arrived when it was highly proper to take the claims of the catholics into consideration." On this joint recommendation, the motion was carried by a decisive majority of 225 to 106 members. On a similar resolution proposed in the upper house by marquis Wellesley, the previous question was put by the lord chancellor, and carried by 126 to 125 peers.

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1812.

At an advanced period of the session, Mr. Brougham, at the close of an unanswered and unanswerable speech on the subject of the orders in council, moved an address to the prince regent, beseeching him "to recall or suspend those orders, and to adopt such measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers." These orders had indeed been for some time past in a great measure superseded by licences arbitrarily granted by government, and liable to the grossest abuse. The general voice had now become loud and clamorous for their revocation; and in the sequel of the discussion, lord Castlereagh, after deprecating the attempt to urge the house to a *precipitate decision*, intimated that government had in view the adoption of conciliatory measures respecting America. The motion of Mr. Brougham was in consequence withdrawn; and on the 23d June appeared a proclamation, announcing

Orders in
Council
suspended.

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1812. the suspension of the orders in council of January 1807 and April 1809, as far as regarded American property, from the 1st of August following; on the condition that America should, on the regular notification of the same, also rescind or suspend its prohibitory decrees. Unhappily, this tardy concession, like all the former conciliatory measures respecting America for forty years past, came too late to be of any avail.

Dissolu-
tion of
Parlia-
ment.

On the 30th July 1812, the parliament was prorogued by commission, with a speech expressive of the regret felt by the prince at the hostile measures recently adopted by the government of the United States of America: and on the 29th September, the parliament was unexpectedly dissolved.

Second
American
War.

The inflexibility of Mr. Perceval in relation to the orders in council had rendered a war almost inevitable. Early in April, an embargo had been laid by the government of the United States on all the shipping in their ports; with the view of manning their rising navy; and on the 1st June, a warlike message was sent from the president to the senate and house of representatives, declaring "the conduct of Great Britain from 1803 to present a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation." As to the orders

in council, he observed, "that retaliation, to be just, should fall on the party setting the guilty example; not on an innocent party, which was not even chargeable with an acquiescence in it. An enlightened nation," said the president, "*if less urged by moral obligation*, might be expected to have found in its true interests a sufficient motive to respect the rights of America, and that an enlarged policy would have favoured the free and general circulation of commerce." On the 18th June, war was actually declared by the United States against Great Britain. This measure, however, was not carried without a strong opposition; the division in the house of representatives being 79 to 49 voices: and it is remarkable, that the dissentients were chiefly delegated from the provinces north of the Delawar; and in no place was the anti-gallican spirit so conspicuous as at Boston, though formerly branded as the focus of rebellion.

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1812.

When the American declaration was known in England, orders were immediately despatched to admiral Warren, who commanded in that quarter, to propose an armistice, as preparatory to the final accommodation of differences; but this was peremptorily refused by the president Maddison, whose disposition was far from being equally pacific with that of

Armistice
refused by
America.

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1812.

his excellent predecessor in office, Mr. Jefferson; and the supposed certain conquest of Canada in the present war apparently operated as a powerful inducement with the American government to hazard a rupture; especially as the whole of the regular force stationed for the defence of that extensive territory, under the governor, sir George Prevost, scarcely exceeded 5000 men.

Invasion of
Canada.

In the month of July, the American general Hull entered the province of Upper Canada, and captured the fort of Michilimachinac, which opened a communication with the Indians westward of the lakes. He then crossed the Detroit, but made no attempt on the important post of Amherstburgh, situated at the head of Lake Erie. On the advance of the British commanded by colonel Proctor, the Americans retreated under the walls of Fort Detroit. General Brock quickly following, they capitulated, August 16th, to the number of 2500 men, including the garrison of the fort. An armistice ensued, till the result of the overture made by admiral Warren was ascertained. In October, a more considerable body of Americans, under general Wadsworth, made a second effort by the route of Niagara. The brave general Brock, hastening to oppose their progress, was killed while in the act of

leading his troops to the attack : but a reinforcement arriving, the engagement was renewed, and the Americans were finally defeated ; their commander Wadsworth and 900 of his men being made prisoners. These unconnected and unsupported incursions indicated neither military skill or firmness : but their maritime exploits afforded matter of consolation, if not of exultation, to the Americans. Their navy consisted almost entirely of frigates, in size, metal, and number of men, nearly equal to ships of the line : so that the largest frigates in the British navy were unequal to the encounter ; and it was soon perceived that the American sailors were scarcely, if at all, inferior to those of Britain in dexterity or courage. Several captures of ships of war were made by them, which excited equal surprise, and indignation. Numerous prizes were also carried into the American ports, by the privateers cruising off the West India islands ; and by unremitting exertions, unequally opposed by the governor, sir George Prevost, the Americans established themselves in force on the lakes Ontario, Erie, and Champlain.

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1812.

Naval
Opera-
tions.

No sooner had the Anglo-Spanish commander lord Wellington refreshed and recruited his forces, than he again took the field ;

Campaign
In Spain.

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1812.

Capture of
Ciudad
Rodrigo.

and early in January (1812) he opened the trenches before Ciudad Rodrigo. The fire of the batteries making a great impression, a storm was resolved upon, in five separate columns. Every attack proved successful; and that important fortress, which had employed the French several weeks, was recovered in ten days. A train of heavy artillery, and stores to a great amount, were found in the place. In reward of this conquest, lord Wellington was advanced to the dignity of an earl; and by a vote of the Cortes, he was also raised to the rank of grandee of Spain, with the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and appointed commander-in-chief of the Spanish, as well as British and Portuguese armies in the Peninsula.

Capture of
Badajoz.

The next object of this able general was the siege of Badajoz, which was invested on both sides of the Guadiana in March. And three different breaches appearing practicable, an assault was made in the night of the 6th April. The assailants met with a formidable resistance; but general Picton having made himself master of the castle by escalade, the governor retired to Fort Christoval, and next day surrendered the place. In this short but bloody siege, the conquerors acknowledged the loss of 4850 men, British and Portuguese. In May

the fortified post of Almarez on the Tagus, forming the chief pass over that great river below Toledo, was forced by general Hill, and the works destroyed.

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1812.

In the following month, lord Wellington advanced in person with the main army in front of Salamanca; and marshal Marmont retreating across the Douro, the way seemed open to the capital. But Marmont, joined by strong reinforcements, made a rapid march to Tordesillas, and re-established his communications with Madrid. A variety of manœuvres succeeded, terminating in a general engagement near Salamanca, July 22d. In his efforts to outflank the allies on the right of their position, general Marmont dangerously weakened his left and centre. This could not escape the vigilant eye of lord Wellington; and an attack was immediately ordered in force. After an obstinate resistance, the French were driven from the heights which they occupied, in great disorder. The right of the enemy was then attacked in flank, as well as front; and being unsupported, they quickly fled the field, and a complete victory was gained; not, however, without the serious loss of more than 5000 men. That of the French was doubtless far greater, exclusive of 7000 prisoners. Marshal Marmont himself was among the wound-

Victory of
Salamanca.

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1812.

ed; and five general officers, with about 140 of inferior rank, were captured, with eleven pieces of cannon and two eagles. Darkness favoured the flight of the enemy, who at length reached Valladolid in a shattered condition.

Its results.

The magnitude of the victory was ascertained by its immediate results. On the approach of the allies, the French retreated upon Burgos; and king Joseph making his escape through the pass of Guadarama, left Madrid to the conqueror, who took possession, August 12th, of that capital, amidst the loudest acclamations. Before the end of the month, the blockade of Cadiz was raised by marshal Soult, the destruction of the forts and batteries having been previously effected by means of tremendous nocturnal explosions. Seville was evacuated by the French nearly at the same time, many prisoners being captured in the pursuit.

Reverse of
fortune.

The English commander, who in the rapid succession of honours had recently been created marquis of Wellington, still closely pressing upon the French, marshal Marmont took a strong position on the heights in the vicinity of Burgos, leaving a numerous garrison in the citadel, which was immediately besieged. The heavy artillery had not yet arrived; but a mine being sprung with success, a too daring

Repulse at
Burgos.

attempt was made, October 11th, to carry the castle by storm, in which the assailants sustained a severe loss; and the armies under marshals Soult and Suchet having formed a junction with that of Marmont, lord Wellington found it necessary not only to raise the siege, but to evacuate Madrid and retire upon the Douro; and toward the close of November, he fixed his head-quarters at Freynada on the Portuguese frontier.

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1812.

This retreat of lord Wellington, like almost all other retreats when pressed by a superior force, was signalized by disorder and rapine, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the commander, who indignantly complained in his public orders of “a want of discipline greater than that of any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read.” Thus the latter portion of the campaign did not correspond to the hopes excited in the former part of it. General Ballasteros, who commanded in Andalusia, fell under severe censure for refusing to obey the orders of lord Wellington, who had relied on his co-operation before Burgos. That officer was subsequently superseded by the Cortes; but the misunderstanding was the more unfortunate, as Ballasteros was one of the best and bravest of the Spanish generals.

Public Orders, Nov.
28, 1812.

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1812.
Establish-
ment of the
Spanish
Constitu-
tion.

The Spanish extraordinary Cortes on the 18th March completed the great work which had so long employed their labours, by the public signature of the constitutional act. Deputies from all parts of the kingdom were present at this ceremony. A commission was appointed to carry the instrument thus signed to the regency: and on the 20th all the deputies assembled in the hall of congress, to swear to the constitution; after which the regency entered the hall, and took the oath of office. The proceedings finished with the solemn proclamation of the constitution, the leading feature of which, unwisely deviating from the best models of government, was the consolidation of the legislative power in one assembly. The ordinary Cortes was convoked for the 1st of October, 1813.

War be-
tween
France and
Russia.

The approaching rupture between France and Russia, and the resolution of the French emperor to attempt the vast and hazardous experiment of invading the frozen deserts of the North, had from the commencement of the present year become manifest to all Europe. In the month of January (1812), Swedish Pomerania was occupied by 20,000 French troops; and at the end of March, marshal Ney established his head-quarters at Weimar; troops of almost all nations assembling under

his standard. Previous to his departure from Paris, Napoleon caused an overture professedly pacific to be made in his name by the Duc de Bassano (Maret), addressed to the English foreign secretary lord Castlereagh, dated April 17th, “on the following basis.—The integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed. France shall renounce all idea of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrenees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her Cortes. The independence and integrity of Portugal shall be also guaranteed; and the house of Braganza shall have the sovereign authority. With respect to the other objects of discussion, each power may retain that of which the other could not deprive it by war.”

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1812.
Pacific
Overture
from
France.

Lord Castlereagh, in the name of the prince regent, replied, “that if by the present dynasty was meant the sovereignty as residing in the brother of the present ruler of France; and by the Cortes, an assembly formed under his authority; such a proposition was totally inadmissible.” As this was precisely the reply which Napoleon had reason to expect, it is difficult to conjecture what political purpose the overture was designed or calculated to answer.

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1812.
Recrimina-
tions be-
tween
France and
Russia.

Various letters had recently passed between the duke of Bassano and prince Kurakin the Russian ambassador at Paris. In the last, dated April 25, from the French minister, the causes of complaint are formally enumerated, particularly "the violation of the treaty of Tilsit in relation to Great Britain, instanced in the ukase which opened the ports of Russia to English colonial produce imported under a foreign flag; and the opposition made by Russia to the annexation of the duchy of Oldenburg to France, *rendered necessary* by the French possession of the Hanse Towns." But the first of these grievances was evidently the cause, the latter only the consequence of the quarrel. Far from making any concession, the ambassador explicitly declared, that the evacuation of the Prussian states, and a satisfactory arrangement with Sweden, must be the basis of the negotiation with Russia.

French
cross the
Vistula.

Early in May, Napoleon, accompanied by the empress Louisa, left Paris; and on the 16th reached Dresden, where he met the emperor Francis, who had engaged by treaty to furnish an auxiliary quota of 30,000 troops. The first grand division of the army, under marshal Ney, had already crossed the Vistula; and the second, commanded by marshal Junot, occupied both banks of the Oder. Meanwhile the em-

peror Alexander, unappalled, was collecting the forces of his immense empire at Wilna; marshal Barclay de Tolly being appointed commander-in-chief.

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1812.

On the arrival of the French emperor at Dantzic, June 7th, the final communications of the hostile powers took place, causing that still and awful pause which precedes and announces a dreadful impending tempest. A bulletin was at length issued, June 22d, from the grand camp of Napoleon, declaring "that no means were left for preserving a good understanding between the two courts, and that the emperor had given orders for passing the Niemen." The French and their allies advanced in nine divisions, composing in the aggregate the greatest force that had ever been seen in Christendom ranged under the same standard. The Niemen was passed without opposition; and the Lithuanian capital Wilna was evacuated at their approach; the Russians by degrees entirely withdrawing from the grand duchy.

At this crisis a Polish diet was held at Warsaw, under the sanction of the French emperor; which, resolving itself into "a general confederation of Poland," published, July 1st, a memorable declaration, announcing that the kingdom of Poland and the Polish nation

Polish Diet
convened.

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1812.

were re-established ; and appointing a council of state, consisting of eleven members, for the administration of affairs. By one of the articles, the king of Saxony, as grand-duke of Warsaw, was invited by deputation to accede to the confederacy ; and by another, the emperor Napoleon was intreated “to encircle the reviving Poland with his powerful protection.” The diet disclaimed all vindictive retrospection ; saying, “that it cannot regard as a true Pole whosoever shall search into the past for motives of accusation or division.” The nuncio Wybicki, head of the deputation sent by the diet to the French emperor at Wilna, in the audience of July 12th, declared “that the honour and interest of France required the re-establishment of Poland.” To this bold truth Napoleon returned an answer replete with artful evasion. “He highly applauded the patriotism of the diet ; and had he reigned during the period of the first, second, or third partition, he would have armed all his people in their support. But in his situation he had many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. He, notwithstanding, *authorized* the efforts they wished to make ; and if they were unanimous, they might conceive the hope of reducing their enemies to acknowledge their rights. But he had guaranteed to the

emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions. Be animated," said he, "with the same spirit which I have seen in great Poland, and Providence will crown with success your holy cause, and recompense that devotion to your country which has acquired you so many claims to my esteem and protection."

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1812.

A more favourable opportunity could never occur for restoring Poland to its just rank among nations. But Napoleon merely aimed to gain the aid of the Polish armies by flattering words; and though he subsequently affirmed it to have been his intention to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and to have placed prince Poniatowski upon the throne, "in order to oppose a barrier to that formidable empire, which threatened to overwhelm all Europe," there exists no trace of any such design in his language or conduct at this period.

O'Meara's
Saint Helena, II. 53.
70.

On the 18th July, a treaty of peace and alliance between Great Britain and Russia was signed at Orebro in Sweden, under the auspices of admiral Saumarez; as was a similar treaty between Britain and Sweden. On the 20th July, a treaty was concluded at Weliki Louki between Russia and Spain, of which the third article was as follows:—"The emperor of all the Russias acknowledges the legitimacy

Alliance
between
Great
Britain and
Russia,
Schoel, X.
543.

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1812.

Peace be-
tween Rus-
sia and
Turkey.

of the general and extraordinary assembly of the Cortes held at Cadiz, as well as the constitution which they have decreed and sanctioned!" The Russian armies still gradually retreating, were in the month of August concentrated at Smolensko. Here the welcome intelligence was received by the emperor Alexander that peace was concluded with the Turks at Giurgewo, on terms very honourable to Russia. The Pruth, from its entrance into Moldavia to its junction with the Danube, and from that junction, the left bank of the Danube itself, to its mouth at Kilia, was by this treaty declared to be the boundary of the two empires. All that portion of Moldavia and Bessarabia east of the Pruth was thus annexed to Russia; and the army of the Danube immediately commenced its march homeward. A treaty of alliance and mutual defence was nearly at the same time signed between Russia and Sweden; and the confederacy against France thus assumed a formidable aspect.

Battle of
Smolen-
sko.Official
Accounts.

After various partial encounters, Napoleon in person led his troops, August 17th, to the attack of the main army of the Russians, posted in great force on the heights above Smolensko. After an obstinate engagement, the Russians abandoned the defence of the

city, and retired beyond the Nieper; but the invaders on entering Smolensko found it little more than a heap of ruins, from a dreadful conflagration; whether accidental or otherwise, is difficult to ascertain. At this juncture, marshal Kutosoff, who had just returned covered with laurels from the Turkish war, was appointed to the chief command. On his route to Moscow, he had an interview with count Rostopchin, the governor; and arriving at the head-quarters toward the close of August, he took a strong position between the villages of Borrodino and Moskwa, on the great road leading to the capital, where the marshal resolved to hazard a battle.

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1812.

The French emperor, after passing the Nieper, continued his march toward Moscow; and on the 7th September, he came in sight of the enemy, whom he found well prepared to receive him. The armies were estimated on the lowest calculation at 120,000 men each. The attack commenced in the morning, and raged with unabated fury till evening, when the French retired to their camp. This was one of the most sanguinary battles known in modern times. Few prisoners were taken; but the field exhibited the horrid spectacle of 40,000 men killed or mortally wounded. Each side claimed the victory; but the French army

Battle of
Borrodino.

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1812.

being joined by the division under marshal Victor, again advanced on the Kalouga road towards Moscow ; and marshal Kutosoff taking a station to the south of the city, Napoleon, on the 14th September, entered that famous metropolis as a conqueror ; fixing his residence in the Kremlin, the antient palace of the czars.

Destruc-
tion of
Moscow.

At this moment the second Charlemagne, for such it was his eager ambition to be thought, touched the zenith of his fortune. Marshal Kutosoff had given strict orders, not only for the evacuation, but the destruction of Moscow ; and scarcely were the French in possession, when the deserted city was discovered to be on fire in divers places. The houses were chiefly of timber ; and a violent wind arising, the conflagration quickly became general. From the elevated heights of the Kremlin, the French emperor beheld in astonishment the whole extent of the capital around him as a sea of fire ; immense volumes of smoke and flame enveloping the atmosphere. Moscow had been regarded by the French legions both as the reward and termination of their labours ; and when first its golden domes and spires rose to view, Napoleon is said to have exclaimed exultingly, “ All this is

yours." Even in his present alarming situation, he seemed to expect to be addressed as a conqueror, and made no preparation for the future; although the division of the Russians commanded by general Winzingerode had by skilful manœuvres gained a position in the rear of the French, dangerously obstructing their supplies. By a prompt retreat, Napoleon might doubtless still have secured winter-quarters in Lithuania and Poland; but his faculties seemed totally confounded by the novelty of misfortune; and his pride and presumption over-balancing the most obvious considerations of prudence, he persisted in maintaining his station amidst the ruins of Moscow.

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1812.

At length, perceiving the armies of the enemy multiplying around him, and gaining continual advantages over the widely dispersed divisions of the French, he deputed general Lauriston to propose an armistice to marshal Kutosoff; who replied, "that no terms would be hearkened to, so long as an enemy remained in the Russian territory." Soon after this, the communication of Napoleon with the grand dépôt at Minsk being interrupted by the defeat of the Austrians and French in that quarter, he resolved to abandon

Evacuation of
Moscow.

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1812.

Moscow (October the 19th), having wasted five irreparable weeks in that scene of desolation and despair.

Disastrous
Retreat of
the French.

Dividing his forces, Murat and Beauharnois, with 50,000 men, were ordered to attack the grand army of the Russians under marshal Kutosoff; while the emperor himself, with the remainder, took the route to Minsk. The former met with a severe repulse; and nothing was now thought of but how to quit a country which they had so lately entered in triumph. Scarcely could they hazard a march without a battle, and thus harassed, retreat became more and more difficult. Minsk itself was obliged to surrender. A stand was attempted at Viasma, without success; and the French, dispirited and weary, were driven from their positions with much slaughter. The next night was rendered dreadfully memorable by a prodigious fall of snow, which was succeeded by an intense frost; and from this period ensued a series of terrible disasters.

Exclusive of the carnage incident to a close and unintermitted pursuit, thousands perished from cold and hunger; and a far greater number suffered themselves to be captured, almost without resistance. Cannon, magazines, carriages, all the *matériel* of the invading army, were abandoned; and Napo-

leon himself with difficulty reached Wilna; whence, on the 5th December, he set out without escort, and nearly without attendants, to Paris. To facilitate his flight, the bridges over the Beresina were destroyed before the troops had completely passed, and great numbers were put to the sword, or forced into the stream amidst the floating masses of ice. The army of Napoleon, which, at the commencement of this fatal campaign, had in all its ramifications exceeded 300,000 men, after losing before the close of it above half its number, at length found a mournful refuge in Poland; and marshal Kutosoff established his head-quarters at Wilna.

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In pursuance of the plan of political reform in Sicily recommended by Great Britain, a representative assembly or Sicilian parliament was convened by the prince regent at Palermo, June 18th (1812). The speech addressed by him to this assembly was well adapted to the circumstances of the country. He exhorted them "to provide for the necessities of the state, the emendation of the laws, and the reformation of abuses, and to establish a well-regulated public order. You have before you," said the prince, "a happy example of this in Great Britain, our faithful ally, whose wise and well-poised constitution has raised

Sicilian
Parlia-
ment
convened.

BOOK XL.
 1812. her to that height of wealth and power to which she has attained." But the beneficial effects expected from this measure were, from various causes, unhappily frustrated.

State of
 Spanish
 America.

In Spanish America, civil war continued to rage with alternate success. At Venezuela a dreadful calamity occurred, in the almost total destruction of the great and populous city of Caraccas by an earthquake; which also exceedingly damaged many other towns in that province. This the priests did not fail to represent as a judgment from heaven on the crime of rebellion; and the war for some time took a very unfavourable turn in that quarter. Caraccas in its ruined state surrendered to the royalists; and general Miranda being taken prisoner, was sent to Spain.

Alliance
 between
 Persia and
 Great Britain.

In the east, the most remarkable occurrence was the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and alliance between Persia and Great Britain, by the ambassador sir Gore Ouseley, on conditions which were deemed highly beneficial to this country.

New Parliament
 convened,
 November
 1812.

The newly elected parliament of the United Kingdom assembled on the 24th of November (1812), Mr. Abbot being unanimously rechosen speaker. On the 30th the prince regent delivered for the first time a speech from the throne, containing a triumphant review of the

political and military events of the year. The addresses in both houses, after a lengthened discussion, in which the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning took a prominent part in opposition, were suffered to pass without a division. A grant of 100,000*l.* was voted to the duke of Wellington; and 200,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

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1812.

Soon after the Christmas recess, lord Castlereagh presented to the house of commons a mass of papers relative to the war with the United States of America; of which by far the best vindication was the material though tardy concession made by the British government, in the revocation of the orders in council; together with the armistice liberally offered by the prince regent and peremptorily refused by the American president.

On the 25th of February, Mr. Grattan once more moved, “that the house of commons resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of the laws as affecting the catholics.” This was productive of a debate which continued no less than four days, on the termination of which the motion was carried by a majority of 264 to 224 votes. A bill was consequently introduced for the relief of the catholics. But instead of a short and simple repeal of those statutes which created the disabilities,

Bill for
relief of the
Catholics.

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1813.

it proved to be a complex and intricate bill, qualified with odious provisoes and exceptions, full of jealousy and distrust: and in the twenty-third clause of it the *veto*, or “efficient negative,” appeared in a most obnoxious form.

On the 24th of May, the house being in committee, the speaker arose, and began with enquiring “whether this bill was likely to become a basis of general concord and satisfaction? So far as we knew of the proceedings of the Roman catholics, some of the principal among the laity had declared against it; and the clergy in general had loudly expressed their dissent from its ecclesiastical provisions. After all, he was himself of opinion, that the *safe-guards* to the protestant constitution offered by this bill were *utterly insufficient*; and he moved that the clause enabling catholics to sit in parliament be omitted.” A long and eager debate ensued; and the motion of the speaker was at length carried by a majority of four votes; the numbers being 251 to 247. Mr. Ponsonby then declared, “that as the bill without this clause was not worthy of the acceptance of the catholics, or the support of their friends, he should move that the chairman leave the chair;” which being carried without a division, the bill was abandoned, very much to the satisfaction of those whom it

was its avowed purpose to relieve; so inadequate was this remedial measure to the accomplishment of its object! The essence of the argument to common apprehension lay in a narrow compass. Were the professions and oaths of the catholics, and especially of the catholic prelacy, worthy of credit? If sincere, these *safe-guards* must be equally superfluous and invidious; if insincere, in the language of the speaker, *utterly insufficient*. In a word, if to restore millions to their long-lost rights was an act of imperial magnanimity, why annex to so magnificent a boon conditions which would impair beyond all calculation the grace and the efficacy of it?

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Subsequent to the presentation of this *bill of relief* to the house of commons, the Irish catholic bishops had voted an address to the catholic clergy and laity, in which, after expressing “their gratitude to the legislature for taking into its favourable consideration the disabilities which still affect the catholic body, they declared the utter impossibility of their assenting to certain of the arrangements proposed by the bill, and particularly those that respect the exercise of their episcopal functions, which would involve them in the guilt of schism. We have sworn,” say they, “to preserve inviolate our allegiance, and would

Dissatisfaction of
the Catholics.

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willingly swear farther, if required, that we never will concur in the appointment or consecration of any bishop whom we do not believe to be of unimpeachable loyalty." When this address was laid before the catholic board, May 29th, the fate of the bill being then ascertained, "their respectful thanks" were in cordial language returned to the prelates. "But suppose," said an eloquent member of this body, "that in the new arrangement there should be no *schism*, there would be *worse*—corruption, profligacy, subservience. Let our watchword be unanimity, and our object simple repeal." At an ensuing meeting, June 15th, a resolve passed, "that the catholics do renew their earnest petition to the legislature for the total and unqualified repeal of the penal statutes which infringe the sacred rights of religious freedom." In the autumn of this year, the duke of Richmond was succeeded in the government of Ireland by earl Whitworth.

Unitarian
Toleration
Act.

That the present house of commons entertained very liberal ideas on the subject of religious toleration, appeared in the countenance almost unanimously given to a bill introduced by Mr. W. Smith, member for Norwich, the long-tried friend of civil and religious liberty, for removing the heavy

penalties imposed by law on those who im-
 pugned the doctrine of the Trinity, generally
 stiled "unitarians," but comprehending all
 christian people who embraced, in primitive
 simplicity and sincerity, the apostolic faith of
*ONE God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven
 and Earth.* The house of lords, including the
 ministers of the crown and the prelates of the
 church, were equally disposed to concur in
 this measure of christian candour and mode-
 ration; the archbishop of Canterbury merely
 and truly observing, "that the bill had not
 been called for by any attempt to impede the
 worship of the unitarians, or to enforce the
 existing laws against them."

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The approaching expiration of the charter
 of the East India company once more excited
 the efforts of the commercial world, to be ad-
 mitted into a full participation of the advan-
 tages hitherto restricted to a monopoly, which,
 if at the first beneficial, had long since ceased
 to be so. Scarcely was there a port of the
 least consequence which did not upon this oc-
 casion transmit a petition to parliament for
 throwing open the East India trade. But the
 India company was now too closely identified
 with the state, to admit the remotest prospect
 of success. From simple merchant-adven-
 turers, the company had by a monstrous ano-

Renewal of
 the Charter
 of the East
 India Com-
 pany.

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maly aspired to the character of conquerors; in which pernicious ambition they had been too much encouraged by the applause of the public, who delighted to hear of victories obtained over nabobs, nizams, peishwas, rajas, and sultans, actuated merely by the intoxication of national vanity. The natural consequence of the almost perpetual wars in which the honourable company were involved, was precisely similar to that resulting from the same cause to the British nation itself; the creation of an enormous debt, far beyond any ordinary or visible means of liquidation. The company was now dependant upon government for that financial aid which was essential to its existence; and in return, the government had acquired that military and political patronage of the East, which, in conjunction with various other causes, had so dangerously disturbed the balance of the constitution.

In this state of things, lord Castlereagh brought forward, in a committee of the whole house, his plan of regulation; including the prolongation of the charter for the farther term of twenty years, from April 10th, 1814. The first resolution moved by this minister secured to the company all its Indian territories north of the equator, with the exclusive trade to

China; leaving the commerce of Hindostan open to the public on certain conditions and to certain ports, by licence from the company: but so long as the company itself exists, the extension of the trade will, from obvious causes, be confined within comparatively narrow limits. A christian church was also founded in India, consisting of a bishop and three archdeacons; and a wide scope was given to the zealous efforts of missionaries. The dividends of the company were limited to $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and the number of king's troops to be paid by the company was restricted to 20,000, unless a larger force was required by the directors. The whole passed into a law with no effectual opposition.

At an early period of the session, the chancellor of the exchequer submitted to the house his plans of finance, present and prospective. The loan for the current year was 21,000,000, exclusive of 15,000,000 of exchequer-bills funded, and a vote of credit for 6,000,000. In all this there was no deviation from the established course of progression in the road to ruin. But this daring minister felt no hesitation, almost at the commencement of his career, to aim a mortal blow at that system which Mr. Pitt professed to regard as the fairest monument of his fame, and which had

New Sys-
tem of Fi-
nance.

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hitherto remained sacred and inviolate. Indeed the act of 1786 had so anxiously guarded against the eventual alienation of the sinking fund, that scarcely could it be the subject of reasonable apprehension that any future chancellor of the exchequer should, in the recollection of many individuals who had witnessed the acclamations attending its creation, venture to attempt the subversion of this firm and solid fabric.

The aggregate of the stock redeemed by the commissioners had now amounted to 238,000,000; a sum exceeding the total of the national debt as it stood in 1786; and the several interests thus disengaged had to the present moment been faithfully and invariably applied in conformity with the terms of the act. But Mr. Vansittart now proposed the entire extinction of the stock transferred to the commissioners, and the application of the interests to the purposes of future loans. This, he observed, would enable the country to carry on the war *four years longer* without any addition of taxes; thus at once destroying the silent but incessant and successful labour of twenty-seven years, and mocking the last cherished hope of financial redemption. But present relief, at whatever future cost, was the predominant feeling. The bill passed by a

great majority; and henceforth all the fluctuating schemes and projects of this minister had no other end in view than to put off the evil day.

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The treaty with Sweden was laid before parliament on the 11th June. From this it appeared, that in the recent convention between Russia and Sweden, the emperor Alexander, notwithstanding his deep sympathy for the sufferings of Denmark, as inflicted by Britain, had not hesitated, when his own interests were at stake, to engage that Norway, which had been for ages united in a federal league with Denmark, should be transferred to Sweden in compensation for Finland; that power engaging to join the confederacy against France, and to furnish 30,000 troops, under the command of the crown prince, for active service on the continent. To this compact Great Britain had by the present treaty become a party; promising moreover, in addition to a subsidy of 1,000,000, and the premature cession of the island of Guadaloupe, to aid by naval co-operation in the transfer of Norway, should Denmark continue in alliance with France. In return, British manufactures were to be admitted into the Swedish ports for twenty years at an *ad valorem* duty of one per cent. only. This treaty, so far as related

Treaty with
Sweden.

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to Norway, was strongly opposed as irreconcilable with public law and national honour.

It was, however, approved by both houses; and on the 22d July (1813) parliament was prorogued by the regent in person, who expressed the highest satisfaction at their proceedings.

Campaign
in Spain.

The campaign of this year in Spain commenced under favourable auspices; for the enemy not being able to obtain reinforcements from France, was compelled to act on the defensive; a plan ever ruinous to invaders. Marshal Suchet alone attempted operations on a bolder scale; and on April 13th he made a general attack on the line of the allies, but was repulsed with loss, and compelled to retire upon Villena.

Before the end of May, lord Wellington moved in great force, by the route of Salamanca, towards Madrid; king Joseph once more evacuating that capital, and retiring to Burgos. On the approach of the British commander, the enemy continued his march towards the Ebro, without any effort to maintain the city or even the citadel of Burgos, upon which immense sums had been expended. The allies, by a sudden movement to the left, having crossed that river near its source, in their pursuit found the French encamped

in front of the town of Vittoria, under the command of king Joseph, assisted by marshal Jourdan ; Soult having been summoned to the aid of Napoleon in Germany.

Battle of
Vittoria.

On the 21st June, lord Wellington resolved upon the attack. The battle began with a severe contest for the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position. These being at length carried by general Hill, he passed a rivulet which ran through the valley ; as likewise did sir Thomas Picton at the head of another division. Nearly at the same time, general Graham, on the opposite wing, forced his passage over two bridges thrown across the stream ; upon which the whole French army retreated in good order upon Vittoria, whence they continued their march towards Pampe-luna. As Vittoria was the grand depôt of the French, a great number of cannon, and stores of all kinds to a vast amount, fell into the hands of the victors ; the loss of whom was estimated at near 5000 killed and wounded. Though that sustained by the French in the field was probably not much greater, the victory was decisive in its consequences ; and being closely pursued, the enemy successively abandoned his strong posts ; at length crossing the Bidassoa, by the bridge of Irun, into France.

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Operations
in Catalo-
nia.

A large force had been last year landed from Sicily, at the port of Alicant, under sir John Murray; from whose co-operation with lord Wellington much had been expected, though as yet productive of no visible advantage. Early in June, however, an expedition, conducted by sir John Murray in person, disembarked on the coast of Catalonia, and invested the city of Tarragona. After advancing his batteries against the place with every prospect of success, he received intelligence that marshal Suchet was marching at the head of a superior force to its relief; upon which he raised the siege with some precipitation, and re-embarked his troops, leaving his cannon in the batteries; though the naval commander, admiral Hallowell, had engaged to bring them off before night. The garrison of Tarragona, after dismantling the works, was subsequently withdrawn to Barcelona; and marshal Suchet shortly afterwards found himself compelled to evacuate altogether the kingdom of Valencia.

Battle of
Ronces-
valles.

Marshal Soult having resumed the command of the army discomfited at Vittoria, recrossed the Bidassoa; and on the 24th July he attacked with vigour the right wing of the allies posted at Roncesvalles, a place immortalized in history and romance by the terrible "defeat of Charlemagne and all his peers." Al-

though marshal Soult succeeded in forcing this position, he failed in his attempt to relieve Pampeluna; and the French again retreated beyond the Pyrenees.

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The siege of St. Sebastian was in the mean time undertaken by sir Thomas Graham; but that fortress, one of the strongest in Spain, was defended with extraordinary skill and resolution. An assault from the besiegers, July 25, was repulsed with great slaughter. The town was at length taken by storm, with the loss of 2300 lives; and the castle capitulated on the 18th of September. Early in October, lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa in force, and at different fords, in defiance of all opposition from his able antagonist; and thus France itself became once more exposed to the miseries and ravages of war. At the end of this month the important fortress of Pampeluna surrendered to the Spaniards, and the numerous garrison were made prisoners. In November the French, driven from their successive positions, took refuge in their entrenched camp before the city of Bayonne; their lines extending from the Nive to the Adour. The passage of the Nive was accomplished before the close of the campaign, and the English commander established his winter-quarters in France.

Capture of
Saint Se-
bastian.

The Eng-
lish Com-
mander
enters
France.

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1813.
Great exertions of
Napoleon.

The French emperor, on returning to Paris from his wild and disastrous expedition to Russia, had been received with all the external demonstrations of joy; and his flatterers affected to say, "that he was conquered only by the elements." By a *senatus consultum* (January 11th, 1813), 350,000 men were placed at his disposal. He now also adjusted his differences with the Roman see, by a new concordate signed at Fontainebleau; and in the midst of misfortune he still held his accustomed language of boast and confidence. In his speech to the legislative body, February 14th, he said, "The French dynasty reigns, and will reign in Spain. The Russians shall return into their frightful climate. England is destined by Providence to be the first victim of anarchy, &c." After declaring the empress sole regent, he set out for the army.

Military
Operations
in Poland.

The Prussians, as allies of the French, had chiefly acted on the coast of the Baltic, and had been jointly engaged in the siege of Riga; from which place marshal Macdonald had retired with some precipitation; and the Prussians, under general de Yorcke, concluded a convention with the Russian commander Wittgenstein, by which his troops were to remain neutral in Eastern Prussia. Though the king professed to disapprove the measure, this de-

fection was very ominous. The Russian general then entered Koningsberg, January 1813, where a Prussian regency was forthwith established. On the 13th of that month, the emperor Alexander crossed the Niemen in person, amidst the acclamations of his troops. General Yorcke being appointed commander of the regency at Koningsberg, numbers flocked to his standard. Frederic William himself issued an ambiguous proclamation from Breslau, February 3d, summoning his subjects to take arms in defence of their king and country, without naming the enemy. Every where the current set against the French. On the 8th February, the Russians entered Warsaw; and at the same time Dantzic and Thorn were invested. The Austrians concluded an unlimited armistice, and returned to their own territory. In fine, the king of Prussia, after a formal offer of mediation, took the decisive step, February 22d, of signing an alliance offensive and defensive with the emperor of Russia.

Defection
of Prussia.

The French evacuated Berlin March 3d, and detachments from the Prussian army occupied Hamburg and Rostock. Thirty thousand Swedes, under the command of the crown prince, were daily expected; and on the approach of the Russians under general Wittgenstein, the king of Saxony quitted Dresden.

Campaign
in Ger-
many.

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1813.

Battle of
Lutzen.

Las Cases.

Battle of
Bautzen.

The French army of reserve passing the Maine, effected a junction with that of prince Beauharnois in April; and on the 25th of that month, the emperor Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, once more appearing at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined force full of confidence and eager for action. On the morning of the 2d May, he advanced into the famous plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching Leipzig and throwing himself into the rear of the allies; but they anticipated his purpose by an immediate attack. This proved an obstinate and well-fought contest. Here marshal Bessieres, duke of Istria, was shot dead with a musquet-ball: "having lived like Bayard, he died like Turenne." Such was the emphatic eulogium bestowed on this commander. The battle terminated to the advantage of the French, and the allies retreating beyond the Elbe, Napoleon entered Dresden accompanied by the king of Saxony.

Having received powerful reinforcements, the allies took up a strong position on the Spree near Bautzen, where they were attacked by the French on the 19th May. The field was again contended for with equal skill and courage; but the allies were once more compelled to retire, though in good order,

upon Schweidnitz, and Napoleon resumed possession of Breslau.

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Through the mediation of Austria, an armistice was concluded, June 1st, which was at several times prolonged to the 13th August; and a congress was held at Prague, with the view of general pacification. At this period, the restoration of the Bourbons was an object not even contemplated by any power, and least of all by the emperor Francis, whose daughter was at this moment regent of France. Yet Austria held in the existing circumstances the balance of Europe, and had a right to expect, not merely as the mediator, but “umpire of the fray,” to derive important advantages from an ultimate and permanent settlement. But in this crisis, as upon other emergent occasions, Napoleon exhibited himself rather as the daring adventurer, than the profound and sagacious statesman. Elated with the recent victories, indecisive as they were, of Lutzen and Bautzen, he seemed to suppose that he had regained his military superiority, and refused to make the concessions which his situation imperiously demanded; not considering, that the present confederacy was of a nature totally different from the preceding ones; and that the addition of

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Congress of
Prague.

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1813.

Austria
declares
against
France.

Austria and Sweden, under so able a leader as the crown prince, to the already preponderating weight of Russia, Prussia, Great Britain, and Spain, now become the assailant, must hazard his political existence.

Suddenly the congress broke up, the armistice having produced no other result than the giving time to Austria to complete her military preparations; and on the succeeding day (August 11) count Metternich delivered to the minister of France a declaration of war on the part of the emperor Francis, who at the same time signed a treaty of alliance with Russia and Prussia. In the Austrian declaration, “the usurpations of France *in the north of Germany*, and the impossibility of a lasting peace in Europe, while the same system of policy was persisted in, was unreservedly affirmed. France gave no hope that she would make those sacrifices for peace, which would be sufficient to bring it back to Europe.”

Renewal of
hostilities.

On the renewal of the campaign, the grand army of the allies, consisting of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, encamped on the Bohemian frontier, bordering upon and menacing Saxony. General Blucher, famous for his exertions after the fatal battle of Jena, now commanded in Silesia, and the crown prince

of Sweden in the north of Germany; having been joined at Berlin by his renowned companion in arms general Moreau. The first military operation of the allies had for its object the recovery of Dresden, which was attempted by escalade on the 27th August; but the assailants were repelled with great slaughter. On reconnoitring the enemy's position on the ensuing day, general Moreau was killed by a sudden discharge of cannon, while near the person and in the act of conversing with the emperor Alexander. His death was deeply lamented, it may truly be said, at this juncture, throughout Europe. On the retreat of the allies into Bohemia, Napoleon detached a division of the army under general Vandamme, to seize the passes of the mountains in their rear: but that general was himself surrounded, and, after sustaining an hopeless and unequal combat, was compelled to surrender with more than 10,000 men, and all his artillery and baggage; thus recalling to recollection the similar disaster of the Prussian general Finck, near the same place, about half a century before this time.

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Death of
General
Moreau.

Great advantages also were obtained by general Blucher in Silesia over the marshals Macdonald and Victor, who were driven back to the Elbe with heavy loss: and on the 6th

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1813.
Battle of
Dennevitz.

September, a splendid victory was gained at Dennevitz by the crown prince of Sweden, over marshal Ney, who lost many thousands in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon. The allied armies now pressing on all sides upon Dresden, the emperor Napoleon and king of Saxony quitted that capital, and concentrated their forces in the vicinity of Leipzig. Soon after this, an unexpected blow, more prejudicial than the loss of a battle, occurred in the convention signed October 8th, between the courts of Vienna and Munich, by which 50,000 Bavarian troops were detached from France, and added to the immense force of the allies. The tide of adverse fortune now appeared wholly irresistible; yet did not the unyielding spirit of Napoleon make the slightest advance towards accommodation.

Battle of
Leipzig.

Leipzig was at this moment the grand object of attention; and its fate was to be decided by the most numerous armies which had ever been assembled in the ensanguined fields of Germany. The united force of Bernadotte and Blucher were posted on the north, between the Muldaw and the Saale; while the Russians and Austrians, commanded by general Beningsen and the prince of Schwartzburg, occupied an opposite line on the south.

After divers partial encounters, and bold efforts in a great degree successful, to surround the French, a general and bloody battle ensued on the 18th October. The engagement was still raging, and Bernadotte, after carrying some advanced posts, was halting for his artillery, when a large body of Westphalian and Saxon troops, the latter bringing with them twenty-two pieces of cannon, ranged themselves under his standard, and requested to be led against the French. This was decisive of the event; and it strikingly demonstrated the extravagance of that policy which would transform the circles of Germany into provinces of the French empire. The Russians and Austrians, notwithstanding a most persevering resistance, effected a junction towards evening with Bernadotte and Blucher under the walls of Leipzig, in which city the French had sought for refuge, after sustaining the loss, as estimated by the allies, of 40,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and sixty-five pieces of cannon. The victory, whatever might be the details, was decisive; and even retreat had, from the obstinacy of the French emperor in retaining his position, become exceedingly difficult; the only route now open to him lying over a marshy tract, intersected by several rivers or rivulets, swelled with rain.

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Retreat of
the French.

During the night the French army began to defile toward Weissenfels; and in the morning the magistrates of Leipzig requested a suspension of arms for the purpose of capitulation.

But this was peremptorily refused; and Leipzig, after a short resistance, was carried sword in hand; the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, meeting before noon in the great square, amidst the acclamations of the army and the people. Napoleon had quitted Leipzig scarcely two hours previous to the entrance of the allies. Disaster was followed by disaster: for as the French were retreating in great disorder over the Elster, the bridge was broken down with such precipitation, that some thousands of the rear-guard were either captured or perished in attempting to cross the stream. Among these the most distinguished and most regretted individual was prince Poniatowski, who, by the acknowledgment even of his enemies, possessed every virtue and accomplishment which could add lustre to his birth.

King of
Saxony
made Cap-
tive.

Immense magazines were found in Leipzig; and the king of Saxony, with the nobles who composed his court, were sent under an escort to Eysenach. Napoleon, with the remains of his army, still amounting to more than 70,000

men, directed his march to Erfurt and Hanau ; at the last of which places he found the Bavarians under general Wrede, with a corps of Austrians, posted to intercept the passage. An encounter ensued, in which the allies were repulsed with considerable loss ; and Napoleon continued his progress to Mentz, where he arrived November 2d. The grand army of the allies in the mean time advanced to the Maine, and the sovereigns established their head-quarters at Frankfort.

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New causes of triumph arose in rapid succession. The king of Wirtemberg, imitating the example of Bavaria, renounced the confederacy of the Rhine, and united his troops with those of the allies. What was of more importance, and less to be expected, was the revolution which took place at this period in Holland. On the 15th of November, the people of Amsterdam, as it were by one consent, hoisted the Orange colours, and amidst enthusiastic shouts proclaimed the restoration of the antient government. This was followed by all the principal towns in the provinces of Holland and Utrecht ; and a deputation was sent to London, inviting the prince of Orange, son to the stadtholder, who had escaped to England twenty years before, to place himself at the head of his countrymen ; and em-

Revolution
in Holland.

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barking on board an English squadron, he made his entry into Amsterdam on the 3d of December. A considerable Russian force had now crossed the Yssel; and the French, after a short resistance, were expelled from the seven provinces, with the exception of Bergen-op-Zoom and some other fortresses. In the proclamation issued by the prince of Orange from Amsterdam, it was observable that he assumed the title unknown to his ancestors, of “sovereign prince of the United Netherlands.”

Peace re-
established
with Den-
mark.

The king of Denmark, though the most unassuming and unoffending monarch in Europe, was destined to be the chief victim of the war. Early in December, the crown prince of Sweden moving northward, compelled marshal Davoust to take refuge in Hamburg, and conquered Holstein; while the Russians overran Sleswic, that duchy which the Danish monarchs of the last century had violently and unjustly wrested from the paternal ancestors of the emperor of Russia. A change now unavoidably took place in the Danish counsels; and Frederic the VIth, as his only resource, concluded a treaty with Great Britain and Sweden (January 14th, 1814) at Kiel, agreeably to which Swedish Pomerania was ceded in exchange for Norway, England retained possession of the

fleet which she had so dearly purchased, and 10,000 Danes joined the army of the crown prince. In the south of Germany, the arms of Austria had during this interval been no less successful. In October, general Hiller crossed the Alps with an army of 60,000 men; and Trieste, Fiume, with the whole Dalmatian coast, were reduced; aided by the English naval force in the Adriatic.

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The Helvetic republic was well disposed in the present exigency to preserve a perfect neutrality; and the general diet assembled in November issued a notification to this purpose, and even decreed the levy of an army to support it. But their resolutions were of no avail; for an Austrian army marching immediately into Switzerland, made a peremptory declaration, that its neutrality could not be permitted; and on the entrance of count Bubna into Berne, the antient aristocracy was restored. Geneva was afterwards occupied by the Austrian army; which, advancing to Basle and Schaffhausen, menaced the eastern frontier of France.

Swiss Neutrality violated.

On the 1st December, the allied sovereigns issued from Frankfort a declaration explanatory of their views and policy, discovering in the height of their successes very laudable moderation. "Victory," they said, "had con-

Laudable Declaration from Frankfort.

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ducted them to the banks of the Rhine, and the first use which they made of it was to offer peace. They desired that France might be great and powerful; because, in a state of greatness and strength, she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy, that her commerce might revive, and that the arts might again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and bloody contest, in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years."

Extra-
gant con-
duct of
Napoleon.

This was language so different from what had been previously expected, so just, so equitable, and even generous, as to diffuse a spirit of unanimity unknown since the origin of the war. The conduct of Napoleon, on the other hand, was such as to cause universal indignation and astonishment. He seemed to

be incapable of forming an estimate of his own situation and danger. The treaty of Luneville was the basis, modified according to circumstances, to which the allied sovereigns were disposed to revert; but the words and actions of the French emperor breathed nothing but war. On his return to Paris, he caused the senate to pass decrees for levying 300,000 men, and for doubling the public contributions. By way of embroiling matters in Spain, he on the 11th December signed a treaty with his prisoner Ferdinand the VIIth, recognizing his title to the crown, on condition of his reinstating in their honours and estates all who had acted under the authority of Joseph; of restoring the French prisoners, and causing the English to evacuate the Peninsula.

Alarmed at the dangers impending over the country, the legislative body ventured to suggest, through the medium of a committee of deputation to the emperor, December 28th, "that the declaration of the allies should be met by a counter-manifesto on his part, distinctly avowing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the repose of Europe." To this counsel, enforced by the urgent remonstrances of M. Talleyrand, he returned a haughty answer, accusing them of "drawing a line of distinction between the interests of the

Las Cases,
III. p. 189.

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sovereign and the people, and forbade the printing of the report." To the counsel of state he complained in angry terms of this application of the legislative body.—“They stun me,” said he, “with their clamorous demands for peace. Instead of assisting me with all *their* efforts, they seek to obstruct *mine*.” In fine, on the 31st December (1813), he suddenly dissolved that assembly.

Campaign
in America.

In consequence of the refusal of the president Maddison to accept the armistice offered by Great Britain, hostilities with America were unhappily continued. It was nevertheless hoped, as the opposition to the war was very powerful in the northern and eastern states, that Mr. Maddison, whose term of office was expiring, would not be re-elected. This expectation proved fallacious; the president being again chosen by a majority of 128 to 89 votes; and on the meeting of congress at the beginning of the year 1813, his rejection of the armistice was fully approved: for the flattering prospect of the conquest of Canada fascinated the imagination of the aspiring politicians of America, who saw in this war only visions of glory.

Invasion of
Upper Ca-
nada.

Eager to retrieve the disasters of the former campaign, the American general Winchester again with a considerable force advanced, early

in 1813, to the attack of Fort Detroit, but was totally defeated and made prisoner by colonel Procter, with 500 of his men. The grand design of the Americans was, however, directed against York, the capital of Upper Canada, situated at the head of Lake Ontario. The navigation of the lake, through the alledged supineness of the governor of Canada, sir George Prevost, was wholly commanded by the Americans ; and a large force, led by general Dearborne, embarking on board their flotilla under commodore Chauncy, landed near that place on the 27th April. It was defended by general Sheaffe with far inferior force ; but he was soon obliged to retire from a combat so unequal, and the town of York, with its valuable magazines and stores, and a frigate then on the stocks, fell into the hands of the enemy.

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General Dearborne again embarking, landed his entire force on the Canadian shore below Fort George, on the Niagara frontier. But in this expedition, after capturing the fort, they met with a severe check in a nocturnal attack, June 3d, from general Vincent, and their farther projects were frustrated. Early in the spring arrived from England sir James Yeo, an officer of great skill and gallantry, to take the command on the lakes, by whom the most

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Thomson's
Historical
Sketches
of the
Canadian
War.Disasters
on the
Lakes.

vigorous exertions were made to establish a superiority ; and an expedition against Sacket's harbour, the chief American dépôt, headed by the governor Prevost in person, was undertaken about the close of May, in the absence of the enemy's fleet, which had accompanied general Dearborne. But this enterprize was suddenly relinquished by the governor, when it is affirmed "that not an individual, either friend or foe, doubted of success."

After this disappointment, sir James Yeo had to contend, on the return of Chauncy, against a force to which his own was so inferior, that it was no small praise to preserve an equality of success in various bloody encounters. But on Lake Erie, the British arms sustained a signal and almost unprecedented disaster. To the requisition of the commander on that station, captain Barclay, an excellent officer, for the necessary supplies, sir George Prevost had replied, "the ordinance and naval stores you require, must be taken from the enemy, whose resources must become yours."

August 22. And to colonel Procter, who had "entreated that the governor would send the means of continuing the contest," sir George Prevost thought it sufficient to say, "the experience obtained by sir James Yeo will satisfy captain Barclay that he has only to dare, and the

enemy is discomfited." Thus neglected, or rather sacrificed, captain Barclay was compelled to seek the enemy with a force half equipped, and manifestly inadequate to the encounter which took place on the 10th September with the American fleet, which was far superior in force, and still more so in condition. After an action maintained with heroic courage, until almost all the officers were killed or wounded, among the latter the commander himself, and the ships reduced to wrecks, the whole were obliged to strike to the American flag.

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In consequence of this misfortune, the Michigan territory was abandoned, excepting Fort Michilimachinac, and all the posts in Upper Canada beyond Grande Riviere. In the month of October, a combined and serious attempt was made by the American generals Hampton and Wilkinson, against Montreal and the Lower Canada ; the former proceeding by land, and the latter embarking on Lake Ontario. Both were repelled with courage and success; and the retreat of the Americans was signalized by the destruction of the infant but flourishing town of Newark. The recovery of Forts Saint George, and the capture of Niagara, by colonels Murray and

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Drummond, closed the operations of the campaign in Upper Canada.

The enterprizing spirit of the British navy was displayed in occasional attacks on the towns situated on the American coast, upon their depositories of stores, and various successes of a subordinate nature. In June, the Shannon frigate, commanded by captain Broke, fell in near the harbour of Boston with the Chesapeake, a vessel of far superior force; which, after a short engagement, she captured by the daring manœuvre of boarding. This was peculiarly gratifying as a salvo to the national honour, transiently clouded by the unexpected maritime losses sustained early in the war.

During this year few occasions presented themselves of evincing the superiority of British naval skill and courage in oppositon to France, whose fleets had by a series of disasters been almost annihilated. The most considerable action of the present summer occurred in the capture of the maritime city of Fiume in the Gulf of Venice. On the second of July, Admiral Freemantle, with the squadron under his command, anchored opposite to the town, which was defended by a line of batteries. Upon the following day, a detachment of seamen and marines succeeded

in storming the Molehead ; and dispersing the garrison, they gained complete possession of the place with trivial loss. Even under these circumstances private property was, with true British honour, held sacred ; and nothing was seized by the victors, but the government stores, with the shipping found in the port ; and of the merchant vessels, the greater part are said to have been also subsequently restored to their owners.

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HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XLI.

Parliament convened November 1813. Russians and Austrians enter France. Defection of Naples. Congress of Chatillon. Treaty of Chaumont. Capitulation of Paris. Abdication of Napoleon. Battle of Toulouse. Restoration of Louis XVIII. Princess of Wales departs the Kingdom. Allied Sovereigns visit England. Prince of Orange King of the Netherlands. Union of Sweden and Norway. Restoration of Ferdinand VII. Capture and ravage of Washington. Disaster at New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent. Napoleon returns to France. Revolution at Naples. Battle of Waterloo. Second Abdication of Napoleon. He surrenders himself to the English. Is exiled to Saint Helena. Peace of Paris. Execution of Marshal Ney. Germanic Confederation. Continental Indemnities. Reflections on the Gallic War.

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1813.
Session of
Parliament
Nov. 4.

THE British parliament was again assembled on the 4th of November, 1813. In the speech delivered by the prince regent, the successes of the war on the Continent afforded ample

matter of congratulation. Yet on this occasion, and under these circumstances, the noble declaration was made by the prince, “that no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour, or just pretensions as a nation, will ever be on his part, or on that of his Majesty’s allies, an obstacle to peace.”

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With respect to America, his royal highness professed “his readiness to enter into discussions for the adjustment of the subsisting differences, upon principles not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire.”

The addresses were carried without opposition; as was likewise a bill introduced by lord Castlereagh, for allowing three-fourths of the militia regiments severally to volunteer into the line, accompanied by their officers.

Militia
Volunteer
Act.

A loan at this early period, of 22,000,000, proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, received the accustomed sanction of the house; and the foreign subsidies, moved by Mr. Vansittart, passed without a dissentient voice. At this juncture, *all* the empires, kingdoms, and republics in Christendom, were included in the league against France; which could not, without a miracle, make any long or

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effective resistance against such an overwhelming superiority. In these circumstances, it did not seem necessary that Britain should exert herself farther than to maintain her own fleets and armies; much less that she should make her exchequer the bank of Europe. Yet the subsidies to Russia and Prussia were estimated at 5,000,000, to Spain and Portugal 4,000,000; 1,000,000 to Sweden, and 1,000,000 to Austria, with 100,000 stand of arms, and military stores in proportion. The facility with which the representative form of government admits of accumulating a national debt to almost any amount, is an unhappy effect flowing from a noble cause. On the 20th of December, parliament adjourned to the 1st of March, 1814.

1814.
The Allies
enter
France.

Early in the month of January (1814), the Austrians, under the prince of Schwartzenberg, crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen; the Russians, commanded by general Beningsen, near Rastadt; the Prussians, under general Blucher, near Coblenz. The French marshals Marmont, Mortier, Victor, and Ney, retired before the irresistible numbers of these invaders, who marched with confidence into the interior; the immensity of their force, which exceeded 300,000 men, allowing them to mask or blockade the fortresses in their

rear. On the 25th of January, Napoleon left Paris to put himself at the head of his armies; and being now in his element, he displayed much of his accustomed skill and activity. At the first his efforts were crowned with some success; but in an action with the forces under Blucher, near Troyes, February 1st, he was overpowered, and obliged to retreat, leaving that city as a prize to the victors; and it was immediately occupied by the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. Chalons-sur-Marne was evacuated by marshal Macdonald; and Langres was captured by the Austrians, who were advancing upon the Seine. On the 11th, Sens fell into their hands; and on the 16th, a detached corps took possession of Fontainebleau.

Napoleon, unable to cope with all his enemies at once, had in the interim compelled Blucher to fall back on Chalons; and turning suddenly on the other side, the Austrian general, after some bloody encounters, relinquished his positions on the Seine, and retreated upon Troyes. This city he evacuated on the 23d, and it was re-entered by the French emperor in triumph. Being, however, under the necessity of again marching against the indefatigable Blucher, Troyes was recovered by the Bavarian general Wrede early in March.

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Successes
of Napo-
leon.

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Military
Operations
in Holland,
&c.

During this time the crown prince of Sweden was actively employed in the Low Countries, in concert with the Russian and Prussian generals Winzingerode and Bulow, aided by 10,000 British troops under sir Thomas Graham. The garrison of Gorcum capitulated in February; but a desperate attempt being made by general Graham (March 7th) to carry the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, that bulwark of the country, by escalade, the assailants were repulsed with dreadful slaughter. Dantzic and Wittenburg were about this period reduced, the garrisons remaining prisoners of war. In Italy, the viceroy prince Eugene Beauharnois was forced to a state of inaction or worse, by the defection of king Joachim of Naples; who, alarmed and incensed at the invincible obstinacy of Napoleon, had opened his ports to the English, and engaged by treaty to assist Austria with 30,000 men, and had actually taken possession of Leghorn. A corps of British and Sicilian troops, landing at that place under the command of lord William Bentinck, also co-operated in what was stiled the deliverance of Italy; though, in fact, Italy had not been so well governed for centuries, and feared nothing so much as being delivered up to her former tyrants and oppressors.

As it was impossible that the French empe-

ror could refuse all negotiation, he had nominated the duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt) to meet the ministers of the allies at Chatillon. His first step was to offer an armistice; but this was rejected as an expedient to gain time, and the immediate signature of preliminary articles was proposed. The course of the Rhine, leaving Belgium to Austria; the chain of the Alps, leaving Savoy to France; and the Pyrenean mountains; were designated as the permanent boundaries of the French empire: the arrangements with Austria respecting Italy were to be the subject of future discussion. On the 25th of February, immediately subsequent to Napoleon's triumphant recovery of Troyes, he received the overtures of the allies from Chatillon; but in this moment of elation he is said to have torn asunder the paper; engaging, however, to send his *ultimatum* on the 10th of March.

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1814.
Congress of
Chatillon.

Declara-
tion from
Chatillon.

On the 1st of March, a new treaty of alliance and *subsidy* was signed at Chaumont by lord viscount Castlereagh, the representative of England, with prince Metternich, count Nesselrode, and baron Hardenberg, the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The promised *ultimatum* of Napoleon did not arrive till the 15th of March, when it was presented by general Caulincourt to the congress at

Treaty of
Chaumont.

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Negotia-
tions prove
ineffective.Letter of
Count
Montholon.
Las Cases,
III. p. 246.

Chatillon. It demanded with undiminished haughtiness the whole western bank of the Rhine, and part of the line of the Waal, including Nimeguen, for France ; and Italy for Beauharnois. Likewise “ that the other members of his family should be placed on foreign thrones.”—“ By continuing the negotiations under such circumstances,” say the allied powers, “ they would have neglected what they owe to themselves ; by signing a treaty upon the principles of the French projet, they would have laid their arms in the hands of the common enemy.” The *ultimatum* was peremptorily rejected, and the negotiation at Chatillon declared to be at an end. “ But in exacting,” says a distinguished apologist of Napoleon, “ that France should renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, they exacted what was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and the proclamations of the allied powers ; what was contrary to the oath by which, at his coronation, the emperor swore to maintain the integrity of the empire.” Since the declaration of Frankfort, however, many months had elapsed ; and in consequence of the implacability of Napoleon, a very different state of things had supervened. As to the *oath*, it was a consideration entirely personal ; and he who swears rashly must abide the consequence.

The army of Blucher had effected a junction with the corps of Winzingerode and Bulow, at Soissons, on the 3d of March; and on the 9th he was attacked at Laon by Napoleon, at the head of his whole collected force, whom he nevertheless repulsed with such success as compelled the French emperor to retreat during the following night, with the loss of 5000 men. Meantime, marshal Augereau, who was posted near Lyons, had received strong reinforcements from Spain, and threatened to intercept the communications of the Austrians with the Lower Germany. This caused a farther retrograde movement of the prince of Schwartzenberg, and obliged him to send a detachment of 12,000 men to Dijon: but the victory of Blucher, with the welcome intelligence that the Austrian army of reserve, under general Bianchi, had entered France to the amount of 60,000 men, keeping Augereau completely in check, caused him again to advance with hasty marches; and on the 21st March, the prince took a position before Arcis-sur-Aube. Here the French, under the emperor, were stationed in force; but being weakened by an obstinate encounter under its walls with a host of enemies, he on the approach of the Austrians retired upon Vitry; expecting to form a junction at this place with the mar-

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Military
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tions.

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Allies
march to
the Capital.

shals Marmont and Mortier, and a general engagement was anxiously looked for.

On a sudden, Napoleon turning aside from Vitry, which was garrisoned by the Prussians, who defied his menace of storming the place, he took the route of St. Dizier, designing to push between the two grand armies of Austrians and Russians, and to fall upon the rear of the former. But this project being *by some means* discovered, the armies hastened to unite their force, and adopted the daring resolution of marching upon Paris; Napoleon by his late movement being unable to interpose any obstacle to this design. The marshals Marmont and Mortier, perplexed by manœuvres so unexpected, made a precipitate retreat to Sezanne, not without sustaining great loss. On the 27th March, the allies, under the prince of Schwartzemberg and general Barclay de Tolly, fixed their head-quarters at Coulommiers; and on the next day general Blucher passed the Marne at Meaux.

The two marshals entered Paris on the 29th, and were joined by 30,000 national guards. They occupied the heights of Montmartre, which were defended by a formidable force and 150 pieces of cannon; while the right of the allies extended to Montmartre, and their left to the wood of Vincennes. In

this situation, the empress and king of Rome having removed to Blois, Joseph Bonaparte issued a proclamation exhorting the Parisians to a brave resistance, and assuring them that the emperor was in full march for their deliverance.

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On the other hand, the prince of Schwartzenberg addressed a counter-proclamation to the people of Paris, declaring the object of the allies "to be a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France. The attempts hitherto made to put an end to so many calamities have been fruitless, because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you an insurmountable obstacle to peace."

On the morning of the 30th March, the allies commenced a general attack; a fierce conflict ensued, which continued till Blucher came up with the Prussians, and decided the day. The whole line of defence on the right to the wood of Vincennes was forced, and preparations were making for the storm of Montmartre, when a flag of truce appeared to propose a cessation of hostilities. This was granted, on condition that Montmartre should be given up. A capitulation immediately followed, by which the French regular troops were allowed to depart beyond the Loire, with all their warlike appendages; and on the next

Paris capitulates,
March 31.

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morning (March 31), the allied sovereigns entered Paris amidst loud acclamations. A declaration was immediately promulgated by the emperor Alexander in the name of the allies, explicitly affirming that they would no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, or with any of his family; that they respected the integrity of France, as it existed under its legitimate kings, and would recognize and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt.

Provisional
Govern-
ment estab-
lished.

The senate assembled on the 1st of April, under the prince of Benevento (Talleyrand) as president, and passed a decree for a provisional government, consisting of five persons, the president himself being at the head. By a second decree it was asserted, that in a constitutional monarchy the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact. It then proceeds to prove the violation of that compact by Napoleon Bonaparte in various specified articles; and, in fine, it pronounced "that he had forfeited the throne, and that the hereditary right established in his family was abolished."

Abdication
of Napo-
leon.

Napoleon, thus out-manœuvred both in his military and political capacity, learned with astonishment the danger which impended over the capital, and hastened with such expedition to its relief that his purpose would have been

effected, had the capitulation been delayed for twenty-four hours. Of this, Marmont commander-in-chief, could scarcely be unapprized. Finding Paris in possession of the allies, and betrayed, as he thought, by him in whom he had most confided, and who had proved “as false as Gano was to Charlemagne,” Napoleon retired in confusion to Fontainebleau; whence he sent a deputation to the senate, offering to submit to its decision and to that of the French people, and to abdicate in favour of his son. This hopeless project being rejected, he from the height of presumption at once sunk into the depth of despair, and assented without farther effort to an absolute renunciation, for himself and his heirs, of the thrones of France and Italy; though he had still the means of continuing the contest by retreating upon the Loire, the armies commanded by Ney, Soult, and Augereau, being still entire. Empowered to name a place of residence for himself and family, he made choice of the Isle of Elba, on the Tuscan coast. On the 11th April, a treaty was signed between him and the allied powers, agreeably to which he and his spouse Maria Louisa were to retain the imperial title for life, with the isle of Elba in full sovereignty: the empress was likewise to be put in possession of the duchies of

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Parma and Placentia, with succession to her son and descendants; also a pension of 2,000,000 of francs was assigned to him, payable from the revenues of France, with the reversion of 1,000,000 to the empress, and 2,000,000 and half in various proportions to his relatives. Of this treaty, England acceded only to the articles respecting Elba and Parma. Had Napoleon demanded Corsica instead of Elba, named, by his own acknowledgment, "in the humour of the moment," it would have been conceded without hesitation. At Paris, the provisional government was occupied in preparing a constitutional code for the acceptance of Louis XVIII.

Las Cases' Journal, vol. III. part III. p. 348.

Military Operations on the Pyrenees.

The military transactions which occurred during this period in the south of France would have attracted great attention, had it not been for the superior magnitude and importance of those in the north. The advance of lord Wellington through a hostile country abounding with defensible posts, intersected with rivers, swelled with wintry floods, and opposed by an adversary so able and vigilant as marshal Soult, exhibited the perfection of military talent. On the 25th February (1814), the allies forced the strong pass of Orthes; and on the following day they passed the Adour below Bayonne, where it is very broad

and deep, on pontoons and rafts; and Bayonne was immediately invested. The city of Bourdeaux, which had declared for the Bourbons, was occupied by a detachment under marshal Beresford, accompanied by the Duc d'Angouleme, who had recently arrived in camp; and the inhabitants who had already mounted the white cockade, displayed their satisfaction by general acclamation.

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On the 17th March the English commander resumed his operations against marshal Soult, who retreated through Tarbes upon Toulouse. That city afforded a strong defensive position, being protected by the canal of Languedoc and the Garonne: and to the antient ramparts, fortified with round towers, were added redoubts and other field-works. The floods rendered the river impassable till the 8th April; when it was successfully effected, and lord Wellington made his dispositions for the attack. The arrest of the messengers dispatched from Paris, on reaching Montauban, ten leagues only distant from Toulouse, caused an effusion of blood greatly to be lamented. In the battle which ensued, April 10th, the English and Spanish troops seemed to vie with each other in valour; after the loss of many thousands of lives on both sides, marshal Soult withdrew his forces into the city, which

Battle of
Toulouse.

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he evacuated during the night, and next day the white flag waved on the ramparts of Toulouse. In the midst of rejoicing, the resignation of Napoleon Bonaparte was announced. But before this intelligence reached Bayonne, a desperate sally was made from that place, April 14th, in which general Hope, who commanded at the siege, was wounded and made prisoner. This was the last action of the peninsular war, during which, in the course of seven campaigns, lord Wellington had carried his victorious arms from the extreme limits of Portugal beyond the Pyrenees, into the heart of France; and raised his name to a level with the greatest commanders of modern times.

Transac-
tions in
Italy.

Early in the spring, (1814,) the English general in Italy, lord W. Bentinck, proceeded on his march from Tuscany, and in April approached the city of Genoa, which was capable, as the defence of Massena in 1800 fully evinced, of a formidable resistance. But a manifesto had been issued by the English commander at Leghorn, and circulated throughout the Genoese territory, holding out to these republicans the prospect of liberty and independence. "The troops of Great Britain," said he, "have landed on your shores. She offers her hand to free you from the iron yoke

of Bonaparte. Let us make Italy what it was in her better days." Animated by these brilliant hopes, a capitulation was speedily signed, and the British troops entered Genoa, amidst the acclamations and *vivats* of the inhabitants.

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The Austrian general Bellegarde, acting in concert with Murat, had compelled the viceroy Beauharnois to retire upon the Adige. But upon receiving intelligence of the late transactions in France, a convention was concluded, by which the French troops were sent back to France, and the Italian troops transferred to Austria, with the fortresses held by Beauharnois. From the time that Joachim entered into political connections with Austria, England ceased to act hostilely against him. In May, the king of Sardinia re-entered Turin; and a proclamation at Rome announced the happy restoration of his holiness pope Pius VII.

The ex-emperor Napoleon, after taking leave at Fontainebleau of the imperial guard, so long his companions in victory, proceeded to the South of France, attended by commissioners from the allied powers. His progress was marked by alternate applause and reproach. At Valence he had an interview with the duke of Castiglione (Augereau) not of the most pleasing nature. Napoléon had not been

Napoleon
retires to
Elba.

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satisfied with some of the military movements of that accomplished general, which he now intimated were such as to excite suspicions of his fidelity. "'Tis thou," retorted the high-spirited marshal, "who art a traitor to the army and to France. Thou who art void of courage, and who darest not to die the death of a soldier." This was not the only mortification which he experienced in his journey; and at Avignon he was in some danger of personal violence. On the 28th April, he embarked on board an English frigate, and arrived in a few days at his chosen asylum, in the isle of Elba, which thus rose into temporary celebrity.

Restora-
tion of
Louis
XVIII.

All things being now prepared for the departure of Louis from England, that monarch left his rural retirement, of which he might still be destined to regret the remembrance, and repaired to London, where he was received with all the honours due to a king of France: and on the 24th April, 1814, he embarked at Dover in a royal yacht, convoyed by the duke of Clarence. On the 2d May, Louis published a declaration from St. Ouen, in which, advertising to the constitutional act passed by the senate, April 6th, and which the allied powers had solemnly engaged to guarantee, "he *recognized* that its bases were good; but that a

great number of the articles, bearing the marks of the precipitation with which they have been drawn up, cannot in their present form become fundamental laws of the state; and he convoked for the 10th June, the senate and legislative body, engaging to lay before them the result of his labours." This declaration was by no means calculated to excite, or improve the national confidence. On the next day, he entered Paris, where he was received with some tokens of applause from the people, but none from the soldiery.

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A definitive treaty of peace between France and the allied powers was signed at Paris May 30th, 1814. This famous treaty, in conformity to the liberal professions of those powers, was in respect to France equitable and honourable; assuring to her the boundaries existing on the 1st January, 1792, with some slight additions of territory on the side of Belgium and Germany; and a considerable portion of Savoy, including Chamberri and Anneci. Avignon and the Venaissin were also confirmed to France. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free, the House of Orange was recognized in its newly assumed sovereign capacity; and the German states were united in a federal league. Switzerland was destined to remain independent; but Italy

Treaty of
Paris.

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was doomed again to receive the yoke of despotism. Great Britain restored her conquests to France, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and Mauritius; Malta was confirmed to England; and France engaged to erect no fortifications in India; and to co-operate with Great Britain in the eventual abolition of the slave trade.

Surrender
of Ham-
burg.

Hamburg, which had been defended with unavailing pertinacity by marshal Davoust, surrendered on the 16th May. Had Napoleon withdrawn his garrisons in time from this and the other Germanic fortresses, they would have furnished him with a formidable army in the field. But from the fatal period of his retreat from Moscow, he seemed no longer under the guidance of his former judgment. His hopes and projects were confounded, and he appeared to be actuated by all the frenzy and folly of Charles XII.

Re-assem-
bling of
Parlia-
ment,
March 1st.

The parliament of Great Britain, which, pursuant to their adjournment, assembled on the 1st March (1814), again adjourned to the 21st. Soon after which, sir Samuel Romilly introduced a bill consoling to humanity, and enforced by all the powers of reason and eloquence, for taking away *corruption of blood* in cases of treason and felony. This effort of wisdom was in its progress paralyzed by an

amendment moved by Mr. Yorke, purporting to except high and petty treason from the provisions of the bill. Another bill from the same quarter, for mitigating the horrid mode of punishment assigned by the laws to high treason, was also *amended* in the same spirit, and in accordance with a motion of the same member, by adding the senseless vengeance of beheading subsequent to execution.

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1814.

A debate not devoid of interest occurred in consequence of a motion by lord Morpeth, April 22d. This nobleman, after a high and merited compliment to the speaker for the general discharge of his duty, read a passage from his address to the prince regent on presenting the bills at the close of the last session, in which he had touched in very unusual language on the rejection of the catholic bill, characterizing it “as destructive of the laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country, were made fundamentally protestant.” This was conceived by the supporters of that measure, who constituted very nearly half the house, as taking upon him to pronounce, in the form of a censure upon their conduct, a definitive judgment upon the case, evidently not appertaining to the speaker’s office, and without the shadow of authority from the house. Lord Morpeth

Motion of
Censure
on the
Speaker.

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then moved “ that it is contrary to parliamentary usage, and to the spirit of parliamentary proceeding, for the speaker, unless by special direction from the house, to inform his Majesty either at the bar of the house of lords, or elsewhere, of any proposal made to the house by any of its members, either in the way of bill or motion.” This was a proposition very difficult to combat. Some obsolete precedents, however, were now resuscitated, and brought forward as authorities; and after an animated debate relative to the discretionary power vested in the speaker, the motion was negatived by 274 to 106 votes.

Princess of
Wales de-
parts the
Kingdom.

The unhappy misunderstanding between the prince and princess of Wales was again forced into public notice, in consequence of a declaration from the prince to the queen, to whom the princess had announced her intention of appearing on the next court-day, “ that it was his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the princess of Wales upon any occasion, either public or private.” The correspondence in writing to which this gave rise, the princess was advised to communicate to the speaker of the house of commons; and motions were made to take the same into consideration. But the house were almost unanimously of opinion, that no advantage could arise from

such interference. In the contemplation, however, of a permanent separation, a vote passed for settling a revenue of 50,000*l.* upon the princess. But by an implied censure upon this liberality, she strangely refused to accept of more than 35,000*l.* This amendment was readily adopted; and influenced by the same counsels, though the nation at large entered with excess of zeal into her interests, the princess, towards the end of the summer, bidding a long adieu to England, and a last farewell to her daughter, commenced a series of eccentric wanderings over Europe, Africa, and Asia.

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The whole amount of the supplies this year, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, rose to 75,600,000*l.* This enormous sum was supplied by the usual taxes ordinary and extraordinary, aided by loans stated at 40,000,000 and half; and a vote of credit for 3,000,000. On the 28th June, the celebrated commander Wellington took his seat for the first time in the house of lords; when his various patents of honour as baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, were successively recited, and the thanks of the house were addressed to him by the lord chancellor. In support of his new dignity, 300,000*l.* was voted for the purchase of a suitable mansion and

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of Finance.

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domain. The generals Beresford, Hill, Graham, Cotton, and Hope, were also raised to the rank of peers, the two former by their family names, the three latter by the appellations of lords Lynedock, Combermere, and Niddry. The parliament was prorogued on the 30th July, 1814.

Prosecution of
Lord Cochrane.

Of domestic concerns during the session, that which excited most interest, was the prosecution and conviction of the gallant lord Cochrane, upon a charge supported by very ambiguous evidence. Though visibly declining in credit at court since his accusation of lord Gambier, he had greatly risen in general reputation, and from popular favour had been elected member for Westminster. The offence alledged against him was a participation in a conspiracy for raising the price of the funds by an imposition on the stock exchange. It appeared, however, very probable from the tenor of the evidence, that lord Cochrane was himself much deceived; and the public were indignant at the apparent eagerness of the chief-justice Ellenborough to obtain a verdict against this nobleman. He was condemned to pay a fine of 500*l.* and to be imprisoned twelve months. His name was erased from the order of the Bath; and to this was added his expulsion from the house of commons. Had

the case of Mr. Wilkes been adverted to, this last mark of displeasure might have been spared, as he was immediately re-chosen by the independent electors for Westminster.

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In the beginning of June, the emperor of Russia, with his sister the duchess of Oldenburg, and the king of Prussia and his sons, visited England, attended by various persons of high distinction ; prince Metternich, prince Czernichef, generals Blucher, Barclay de Tolly, Platoff, the hetman of the cossacks, &c. The emperor Alexander acquired great popularity by his condescension and affability, as well as by the forbearance and generosity of his late conduct. The Prussian monarch seemed to labour under deep dejection. Notwithstanding his recent success, he had lost all estimation and independent consequence in Europe. He also deeply felt the untimely death, which had not long since occurred, of the queen ; a most amiable, beautiful, and accomplished princess ; who had bitterly lamented the ill-advised and calamitous war of 1806, against France. “ *La mémoire du grand Frédéric nous a fait égarer,*” was her emphatic exclamation on that subject. After a residence of some weeks, in the course of which the sovereigns were magnificently entertained by the city of London, these illustrious guests

Visit of the
Emperor
Alexander
to Eng-
land.

O'Meara,
St. Hele-
na, I. p.
148.

BOOK returned to the continent, much gratified with
 XLI. their visit.

1814. The first care of the prince of Orange as so-
 New Con- vereign of Holland, was to offer a new con-
 stitution of stitution of Holland. stitution to the nation, which in a numerous
 assembly of representatives was accepted by
 a majority of 428 to 25 members. It was
 formed chiefly upon the model of the English
 constitution, and was unquestionably prefer-
 able to the federal union which it superseded.

So early as the 2d of May, the states as-
 sembled to take the oaths enjoined by the new
 government. After some deliberation it was
 finally resolved by the allied powers, that
 Belgium should be united to Holland, under
 the sovereignty of the house of Orange: and
 the prince, repairing to Brussels, published a
 declaration, July 31st, stating "that a new
 destination of their provinces was determined
 at the congress of the allied powers, and in
 the interim that he was called to the govern-
 ment of the country." This was accordingly
 resigned to him in form by baron Vincent, the
 Austrian governor. In August a treaty was
 concluded with Great Britain, by which all
 conquests were restored, excepting the Cape
 of Good-Hope and the settlements of Deme-
 rara, Essequibo, and Berbice, in South Ame-
 rica. After an interval of about six months,

the prince of Orange was recognized by all the allied powers as king of the united Netherlands, and formally assumed the monarchical title.

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Hamburg was declared independent under its former municipal administration; and in order that Hanover might rise to the same level with Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Saxony, the now defunct dignity of elector was changed for that of king; and upon the kingdom of Hanover an improved constitution was conferred, on the basis of national representation.

Hanover
erected
into a king-
dom.

Although the king of Denmark had acceded, from dire necessity, to the cession of Norway, the Norwegians, a brave and free people, indignant at being thus arbitrarily transferred without their own consent, resolved in a general diet to assert their independence, and offered the government of the kingdom to the prince of Denmark, nephew to the king, and viceroy of Norway; who immediately accepted the same in the capacity of Regent; and an ambassador was sent by him to England, to obtain the support, or at least the acquiescence of the court of London. But far from meeting with any encouragement in this application, it was even announced that measures would be taken for blockading the ports of Norway in case of farther resistance: and the king of Denmark

Noble conduct of
Norway.

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himself expressed his displeasure at the conduct of the prince, and exhorted the Norwegians to compliance. In these critical circumstances, the policy of Sweden was guided by the most consummate prudence. The Swedish monarch acknowledged the independency of Norway upon Sweden, in the most explicit terms. He confirmed all their rights and privileges in the most ample manner; and engaged to grant such ameliorations of their free constitution, as should be judged beneficial to the country on the basis of national representation.

Union of
Norway
and Swe-
den.

Notwithstanding these promises and concessions, this high-spirited people resolved to have recourse to arms; and the Norwegian diadem was actually placed on the head of the Regent prince of Denmark. The crown prince of Sweden at length (July 1814) passed the frontier at the head of a powerful military force; and by superior generalship, with very little shedding of blood, he succeeded so far in his manœuvres as to surround the Norwegian army; still preserving in his conduct and language the greatest mildness and moderation. Finding resistance unavailing, the prince of Denmark resigned his authority; and on the 14th of August a convention was signed at Moss, by which the king of Sweden engaged

to accept the constitution framed by the diet of Norway, and agreed to a general amnesty. On the meeting of that assembly, a great majority voted for the union of Norway with Sweden upon certain conditions; and the resolution which finally passed the Norwegian diet convened at Christiana, October 20th, 1814, was conceived in the following terms: “ *Norway* shall, as an integral state, be united to Sweden under one king, with the preservation of its constitution, subject to such necessary alterations as the welfare of the country may require; having at the same time regard to the union with Sweden. These alterations in the constitution, which his Swedish majesty has acknowledged in the convention of Moss, dated the 14th of August last, are to be considered and determined upon by the diet as speedily as possible; and as soon as this has been done, the diet will solemnly *elect* and recognize the king of Sweden, Charles XIII, as the constitutional king of Norway.”

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All the subsequent regulations and provisions were arranged to the entire satisfaction of the people of Norway; and the constitutional act was unanimously confirmed and established, as the basis of a federal union, beneficial to both kingdoms and approved by both. The liberal and generous policy displayed on

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Affairs of
Spain.
Restoration
of Ferdi-
nand VII.

this great occasion, exhibited a most instructive lesson on the science of government.

A striking contrast to this noble example was unhappily to be found in the events which, about the same time, took place in Spain. The treaty concluded December 1813 by Napoleon with Ferdinand VII. whilst still in durance, was rejected by the Cortes as of no validity. The progress of the allied arms at length induced the French emperor to set his captive at liberty; and on the 24th March (1814) he arrived at Girona; whence he sent a letter to the regency, containing a general protestation "of his wishes to do every thing that might conduce to the welfare of his subjects." He thence proceeded to Saragossa, and, April 11th, departed for Valencia, accompanied by his brother the Infant Don Carlos.

Perfidy of
the King.

A great anxiety prevailed, amidst the joy caused by the return of the king; for his acceptance of the constitution so lately and solemnly established; and the long continuance of Ferdinand at Valencia, where he was joined by many of the grandees and prelates, became more and more the object of suspicion to the Cortes, who in vain urged his appearance at Madrid to take the constitutional oath. All doubt was at length terminated by a royal declaration, dated May 4th, in which Ferdinand not

only utterly rejected all decrees of the Cortes which derogated from his prerogatives as sovereign, but pronounced the constitution null and void — commanding that assembly immediately to cease its sittings, and deliver up all its acts and documents,—denouncing, in fine, the penalties of high treason against all who should obstruct the execution of these orders. The decree for dissolving the Cortes, who seemed to be confounded at the suddenness and boldness of the measure, and had strangely left themselves destitute of military resource, was carried into effect without the least resistance: and on the night of the 10th May, a great number of persons were arrested, whose names comprised almost all those who had rendered themselves conspicuous as the friends of liberty.

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Ferdinand VII. entered the capital May 14, with the customary demonstrations of joy. All things reverted to their former state. The court of inquisition was re-established; arrests and prosecutions were multiplied; and Spain was apparently doomed to suffer all that an unfeeling and ungrateful despot, whose perfidy and cruelty were redeemed by no one virtue, could inflict; and no hope remained but what arose from his rashness and imbecility. No measures but those of force were thought of in

Despotism
re-esta-
blished in
Spain.

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relation to Spanish America. A compulsory loan from the merchants of Cadiz enabled him to equip an armament, on board of which 8000 troops were embarked, under the command of general Morillo, who sailed for America towards the close of the year; the civil war still raging in most of the provinces with great violence.

Restoration
of the Pa-
pacy.

The restoration of the papacy in Rome was also attended with the same happy effects which usually resulted from the return of what, in the language now prevalent, was stiled “regular government and social order.” Pius VII. assuming in his proclamation from Cesena, May 5, the antient title of “*God’s* vicar upon earth,” spoke of his temporal sovereignty as essentially connected with his spiritual supremacy. An edict soon afterwards issued from Rome, declaring “the restoration of the former pontifical, civil, and criminal code—his holiness reserving to himself all proceedings against those who had taken part in the late usurpation.” But though the vengeance of the pontiff fell far short of that displayed by the catholic king, the spirit of bigotry and papal prejudice conspicuously appeared on the revival of the order of the jesuits. On the 7th of August his holiness, sitting in state, caused a bull to be read to that effect; conferring upon

them all the privileges which they formerly possessed ; and taking them under the immediate protection of the holy see. This protection, by a subsequent act, he extended to all other monastic communities, lamenting, in the words of the edict, “ the almost total annihilation of those societies as one of the greatest calamities of the times.” The renovation of all the festivals observed in the Roman church previous to the late revolution, with other like orders and edicts, shewed how deeply the pope had imbibed the spirit of his predecessors, whatever sacrifices he had made from the necessity of the times.

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Sensible, nevertheless, of the high obligations which the holy see owed to the court of London, the pontiff seemed very desirous to testify at an early period his sense of gratitude. In the month of May, appeared a letter addressed to the right reverend Dr. Poynter, an English catholic prelate, from M. Quarantotti, president of the sacred missions at Rome, declaring his opinion, and that of a council of learned prelates and theologians convened in that city, “ that the propositions contained in the proposed bill for catholic emancipation, should be gratefully accepted ; only requiring an explanation of the article respecting intercourse with

Interference of
Rome respecting
Catholic
Emancipation.

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the supreme pontiff." Far from conciliating the minds of the Irish catholics to a measure, which in their judgment derogated from the established privileges and independency of the Irish catholic church, high offence was taken at this interference. The catholic clergy in Dublin, at a convocation held for the purpose of taking into consideration the rescript of Quarantotti, declared it non-obligatory on the catholic church in Ireland. Many provincial meetings also passed resolutions against it. The bishops themselves, in a meeting at Maynooth, made a declaration to the same effect, and determined upon a communication with the holy see on the subject. In fine, at an aggregate catholic meeting, a resolution passed absolutely denying the right of any foreign power to exercise dominion or control over the political concerns of the Irish catholics.

Genoa delivered up
to Sardinia.

Genoa continued in possession of the English till December, under a provisional administration, composed of the most liberal citizens, and in full expectation of the re-establishment of its independence, when it was suddenly notified by the king of Sardinia, "that the Genoese territory, conformably to the determination of the congress of sovereigns, was destined to be annexed to his dominions."

An order was at the same time delivered to the English commander, a nobleman personally of high and unimpeached honour, to resign the government to the Sardinian commissioners; lord Castlereagh in his letter, expressing “the regret of himself and his colleagues, that they had not been able to preserve the separate existence of Genoa, without the risque of weakening the system adopted for Italy.” The daring language of usurpation used by Napoleon, seemed less odious than this hypocrisy. But the arguments and remonstrances of the unfortunate Genoese proved wholly fruitless.

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Switzerland, after the examples of Venice, of Holland, and of Genoa, had reason to fear the same fate. But in this case, difficulties might and probably would arise, not resolvable by the same summary morality. In the month of July, a diet had been convened of the nineteen cantons, by whom a federal compact was published, establishing an equality of rights among all the members of the Helvetic body. This, however, was violently opposed by the aristocracy of Berne, who aspired to the re-possession of their former dominion over the subject-states; and so high did the contention arise, that an appeal to arms seemed inevitable, when a strong and seasonable

Equitable
Settlement
of Switzer-
land.

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remonstrance of the allied powers caused the diet to re-assemble in September. A decree then passed, "that the treaty of union between the nineteen cantons, agreeably to the modified copy subjoined, should be signed as a true federal convention." The canton of Berne not venturing to persist in its opposition, the act was carried into complete execution; and the noble principle "that there are no longer any subject states in Switzerland," was fully and finally recognized. Geneva also, restored to its independence, was received as a member of the Helvetic union.

Political
Arrangements.

Austria, under the general arrangement, acquired or regained possession of Venice, Mantua, Milan, Modena, Parma, Tuscany, Tyrol, and Dalmatia, &c. The emperor Alexander claimed the duchy of Warsaw, including various provinces conquered by Napoleon from Prussia; and the Prussian monarch aimed to indemnify himself at the expense of Saxony. But the complex Germanic arrangements and compensations were referred to a future and final settlement at Vienna.

Campaign
in North
America.

The war between Great Britain and America, alike injurious to both, was this year (1814) carried on with increase of violence and animosity: nevertheless, England had the merit of making another advance towards paci-

fication; and plenipotentiaries were in consequence appointed to treat for that purpose at Ghent. The fort of Oswego was reduced by sir James Yeo and general Drummond, early in May; and the English commodore long blockaded Sacket's harbour, in the vain hope of co-operation from the commander-in-chief, Prevost; but on the return of Chauncy his able opponent, with a superior force, he retired reluctantly to Kingston. The Americans now became the assailants. A formidable force under general Brown, an active officer, crossed the Niagara river, and compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to surrender prisoners of war. He then attacked the British lines at Chippawa; and after a warm action, in which the American troops appeared to have improved much in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Ryall, whose strength was greatly inferior, retreated upon Fort George. But being joined by general Drummond (July 25th), the Americans were in their turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie.

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Large reinforcements arriving from Europe, about midsummer, sir George Prevost, after much consideration, determined upon an expedition against Plattesburg on Lake Cham-

Expedition
against
Plattes-
burg.

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plain ; and at the head of 12,000 excellent troops the commander-in-chief ventured to enter the American territory, and cautiously traversing the banks of the lake without seeing the face of an enemy, he arrived at his destination early in September. The defences of Plattsburg were no better than slight field-works, still unfinished ; and the garrison consisted of about 4000 men, chiefly raw militia ; but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault ; alledging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie, who commanded the flotilla on the lake, reached Plattsburg September 11th, and immediately commenced the attack, in full assurance that the land-works would be assailed at the same time ; but his signals were not answered. That brave officer fell early in the action ; but the squadron maintained the fight, till, completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with the incessant fire from the works, the ships were either destroyed or compelled to strike. The commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long-protracted attack ; but almost immediately withdrew his troops ; and amidst the loud reproaches of the soldiery, ordered a general retreat, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores ; but his whole loss in killed and wound-

ed, did not exceed two hundred men. This disaster closed the campaign, if such it could be called, in Lower Canada ; and by the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided by the commander-in-chief, the Americans were finally compelled to evacuate Fort Erie and the whole of the Niagara shore, in Upper Canada. It is both invidious and hazardous for an officer to bring charges against his superior. Nevertheless sir James Yeo hesitated not to prefer a direct accusation against sir George Prevost for neglect and misconduct. That commander was immediately recalled, but did not live to await the issue of the trial.

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The most important events of this campaign in America occurred to the south of the Delaware. In the month of August, a secret expedition was concerted by admiral Cochrane, and general Ross, against the rising metropolis of Washington. The troops being landed on the 19th at the head of the Patuxant, general Ross commenced his march for that city. After dispersing a body of troops hastily collected to obstruct his advance, he entered Washington on the evening of the 24th, and the work of destruction immediately began. The capitol, the senate-house, the mansion of the president, the dock-yard, war-office, trea-

Expedition
against
Washing-
ton.

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sury, &c. with the fine bridge over the Potowmac, were quickly in flames. On the following night, the troops quitted this scene of havock and devastation, in the midst of which, however, private property had been inviolably respected. This war with the *arts*, so unworthy of Britain, was said to be a measure of retaliation for the burning of Newark; but that was an outrage not only unauthorized, but absolutely disavowed by the American government.

Repulse at
Baltimore.

A similar attempt, as if this were not vengeance sufficient, was made in September against Baltimore, one of the most flourishing of the American ports, but not with equal success. General Ross, in advancing to the attack, received a mortal wound; and the officer next in command, finding the enemy fully prepared for defence, and naval co-operation impracticable, re-embarked the troops. General Ross was much lamented, as ranking among the most accomplished officers in the service.

Disaster at
New Orleans.

The close of the year was distinguished by a most sanguinary contest. A British force, both naval and military, far greater than on any preceding occasion, had been collected for the siege of New Orleans, under sir Edward Pakenham; who on the 25th December took

a position about six miles from that city. The American army, said to amount to 30,000 men, under general Jackson, was posted behind a canal and entrenchment; their right resting upon the Mississippi, their left extending to a thick wood. On the 8th January, 1815, a general attack was resolved on; with a view to which, a detached corps crossed the river in the night, with directions to silence a battery on the right bank, which enfiladed the whole front of the position. At five in the morning, the British began to advance, before this service could be performed. The troops displayed their accustomed spirit, and pressed forward amidst a tremendous fire. While the gallant commander was in the act of cheering his men, he received a ball in the breast, and almost instantly expired. The generals next in rank, Keane and Gibbs, were carried off the field wounded; and the battery from the river opening upon the assailants, made dreadful slaughter. The troops finding themselves engaged in a desperate enterprize, fell back in confusion. They rallied, however, under cover of the reserve, and an orderly retreat was made by general Lambert, all the artillery and stores being brought off; but with the loss of 2000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; the

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latter were treated, with such of the wounded as were left on the field, with exemplary kindness and humanity.

Capture of
Mobbille.

The latest actions of this ill-starred contest, were to the advantage of the English. The American ship of war *President*, carrying the broad pendant of commodore Decatur, with 490 men, after a bloody engagement (January 15th), struck to the English frigates *Endymion* and *Pomona*: and on the 11th February, Fort Mobbille capitulated to admiral Cochrane and general Lambert. Intelligence arriving immediately subsequent to this last exploit, that a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and America had been signed at Ghent, December 24th, 1814, all hostilities ceased. In the articles of the treaty, no notice was taken of the causes of the war. They no longer existed, and all things reverted with facility to their former state.

Treaty of
Ghent.Session of
Parliament.

The session of parliament opened November 8th, (1814,) with a speech from the regent, of which the negotiation then pending at Ghent was the principal feature. He also adverted to the intended congress at Vienna, for establishing an *equilibrium* among the powers of Europe. The usual addresses were carried without a division. On the eve of the recess, Mr. Peel, secretary for Ireland, brought in a bill for

preserving, or rather for restoring the peace in that distracted country, in which the system of misrule and oppression was opposed by the spirit of outrage and lawless violence. This bill, after exciting some severe animadversions, passed into a law.

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The two houses re-assembled on the 9th February, 1815; and on the 17th, the house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Frederic Robinson, vice-president of the board of trade, resolved itself into a committee to examine the state of the corn laws. The most remarkable of the resolutions proposed by him, prohibited the importation of foreign wheat while the average price remained under eighty shillings per quarter, instead of sixty-three shillings, which was the former standard. This was a regulation, in the present highly artificial state of things, caused by an enormous and overwhelming taxation, not unreasonable. The passions of the multitude were, however, on this occasion, inflamed in a very extraordinary degree, under the vague notion that the bill introduced by Mr. Robinson was intended to raise the price of bread; and tumults ensued in the metropolis, which were not quelled without the intervention of the military, and some bloodshed.

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Corn Bill.

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Scottish
Jury-Act.

A bill generally approved, and which ultimately passed into an act, was brought in by the lord chancellor for the introduction of the trial by jury in civil causes into the jurisprudence of Scotland. Its operation was, however, much impeded by leaving it optional with the judges of the court of session to grant or withhold the privilege; but this was professedly a bill of experiment.

Alarming
Message to
Parliament.

The proceedings of parliament were (April 6th) suddenly interrupted by an alarming message from the prince regent, followed by a second, May 22d, stating “the necessity of entering into new engagements with his allies, for preventing the revival of a system incompatible with the peace and independence of Europe.”

State of
France.

A surprising scene had indeed opened on the Continent, to which every eye and every ear was turned. Although Louis XVIII. had been restored to the crown with what might be called the national concurrence, wearied as the majority of the people were with the obstinacy, the extravagance, and the desperation of the man so lately the pride of France and the terror of Europe, it required the wisdom, the generosity, and the vigour of Henry IV. to compose the jarring elements of the state, and to restore the calm and sunshine of the political atmosphere after a storm so tremendous,

and of such duration. But the character of Louis XVIII. was feeble, indolent, and indecisive. Destitute of energy to judge and act for himself, he was dangerously influenced by his brother the count d'Artois, who without possessing any superiority of understanding, and far inferior in the virtues of the heart, obtained an ascendancy over him by the violence of his temper; and though deemed one of the chief causes of the first revolution, he now seemed equally willing to hazard a second. The current observation was, "that the Bourbons, during their twenty years exile, had learnt nothing, and forgot nothing. *Ils n'ont rien appris, ils n'ont rien oublié.*"

Under these circumstances, questions relative to emigrant property, and the censorship of the press, were carried by court majorities in a manner alarmingly adverse to public opinion. The "ultra royalists," as they were stiled, exulting in the patronage of the presumptive heir and his sons, the dukes of Angoulême and Berri, excited by their high pretensions the extreme jealousy of the constitutional monarchists. The protestants, known as the zealous friends of the revolution, and much favoured under the late reign, were exposed to every species of vexation, not to say persecution; and the duke of Angoulême was

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acknowledged to be the genuine successor of St. Louis in his bigotry, and unfortunately in that alone. The republicans were still numerous, and would join in any opposition for the chance of again rising to power. Above all, the soldiery, whose numbers had recently been much increased by the release of prisoners, knowing themselves equally the objects of dislike and distrust to the restored government, were almost unanimously attached to their former leader, in whose glories they had so long participated, and by whom they had been flattered, honoured, and rewarded. Of this military idol, the health had commonly been drunk among them for some time past, under the familiar appellation of *Corporal Violet*; in allusion to the approaching spring, when they cherished some obscure notion that he would emerge from his seclusion. The monarch, meantime, the princes, and the courtiers, never thought of danger. Because all was externally tranquil, they were not disturbed by the suspicion "that they reposed upon a sleeping lion."

Las Cases,
II. p. 343.

Although Napoleon had not carried on direct correspondence in France from Elba, he was well informed of the agitated state of the public feelings. He seemed, nevertheless, not to repine at the loss of his grandeur; and

entertained his numerous visitors with his accustomed frankness, and even the semblance of gaiety: and the small English naval armament which cruized off the coast, thought no specific measures of caution necessary.

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On the 26th of February (1815), under circumstances so favourable, and veiled by the shades of evening, this extraordinary personage sailed from Porto-Ferrajo, on board a vessel called the *Inconstant*, accompanied by several smaller ones, having on board about a thousand men, French and Italians; and on the 1st of March he anchored off the port of Cannes, in Provence, where he disembarked his slender force. After a short interval he began his march to Grenoble, from which place a division of troops advanced to oppose him. General Cambronne, who commanded under the emperor, attempted to address them; but they refused to listen, on which Napoleon himself went forward with a few of his guard, their arms reversed, exclaiming aloud, “It is said, that *I dare not die the death of a soldier*; let the first who pleases come forward and kill his emperor.” This operated like an electric shock, and *Vive l’Empereur!* resounded through the ranks. All joined in the march towards Grenoble; near to which Labedoyere, an officer impelled by youthful enthusiasm, and

O’Meara,
St. Helena,
II. p. 269.

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France,

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indignant at the conduct of the Bourbons, ranged himself and the two battalions which he commanded, under the standard of the emperor, who thus reinforced entered Grenoble in triumph. On advancing to Lyons, he was joined by the troops charged to defend that great city; and the count d'Artois, who had repaired thither to put himself at their head, was happy to escape escorted by a single dragoon.

And resumes the Imperial dignity.

The defection of Lyons was followed by that of the whole surrounding country; and all opposition vanishing like clouds before the sun, he now resumed his abdicated honours, stiling himself, "Napoleon by the grace of God and the constitutions of the empire, emperor of the French." He issued a decree annulling all changes made in his absence; and convoking the electoral colleges to hold in the month of May an extraordinary assembly, called, in conformity to antient usage, the *Champ de Mai*. The object of this convocation was declared to be, *first*, the making such alterations and reforms in the constitution as circumstances should render advisable; and, *secondly*, to assist at the coronation of the empress and king of Rome.

Flight of Louis.

This romantic enterprise seemed now to wear a serious aspect. The king issued a

proclamation denouncing Napoleon Bonaparte as an outlaw; the chambers presented loyal addresses; the foreign ambassadors gave him strong assurances of friendship; and the national guards declared in his favour. For the defence of the capital a camp was formed at Melun, and another at Montargis; thus placing the invader between two fires. But the principal confidence of Louis was placed in marshal Ney, who in this crisis made a voluntary offer of his services, which were eagerly accepted, and the marechal quitting Paris on the 7th arrived at Besançon on the 11th of March. It is admitted that no deception was intended on taking this command; but on Napoleon's approach to Auxerre, the soldiery under Ney mounted the tri-coloured cockade, and the marechal himself by a sudden impulse catching the contagion, declared in favour of the emperor; and issued a proclamation, declaring "the cause of the Bourbons to be lost for ever; and that the dynasty chosen by the nation was about to re-ascend the throne." All confidence in the army being now at an end, the king and court left Paris on the night of the 19th-20th of March; proceeding under an escort of household troops in haste to Lisle, whence he repaired to Ostend, and thence to Ghent, where he established his court; though

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Napoleon
enters
Paris.

scarcely yet could he be persuaded to think himself in safety.

The army of Melun, commanded by the duke of Tarentum (Macdonald), was drawn out to oppose the march of Napoleon from Fontainebleau. But on his approach, the soldiers, here as elsewhere, threw down their arms with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The marechal and those officers who with him retained their loyalty had recourse to flight: and in the evening of March the 20th, Napoleon alighted at the Tuileries, eighteen days only subsequent to his debarkation at Cannes, without firing a single musquet and amidst continual acclamations.

His Circular
Letter,

On his resumption of the government, Napoleon addressed (April 4) a circular letter to the sovereigns of Europe, announcing his entrance into Paris, and the departure of the Bourbons. "The restoration of the imperial throne," said he, "was necessary to the happiness of the French people. It is my sincerest desire to render it at the same time subservient to the repose of Europe. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will now be more delightful to know no other rivalry in future but that resulting from the advantages of peace; and no other struggle but the sacred one of felicity for our people."

This was followed by a declaration issued in the same month ; and stating the manifold violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, in vindication of his late enterprise, combined with various other injuries and outrages. Among these, he enumerates the refusal to grant passports to the empress and her son, to join him at Elba ; the encouragement given by the French government to brigands and assassins ; and particularly the appointment of the Sieur Brulart, an associate of Georges, to be governor of Corsica ; the unjust appropriation of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had been allotted to the empress and her son, as an hereditary sovereignty ; the breach of promise to provide a suitable establishment for Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon ; the withholding of the rewards, and compensations, stipulated in behalf of the army ; the seizure of property belonging to the emperor's family ; the non-payment of the annuities due from the French government conformably to the treaty, and the total disregard of all applications for that purpose. In fine, the resolution fixed upon by the congress, at the instigation of the Bourbons, to rob him of the isle of Elba ; and had not Providence prevented, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter to the mercy of his enemies, and

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transported far from his friends and followers, either to *St. Lucie* or *St. Helena*, which had been pointed out as his prison. That such a proposition might have been suggested by the vengeance of the Bourbons, is by no means incredible; but that England, or even the other powers of the congress of Vienna, had given their assent to it, is an assertion destitute of all evidence. The prevalence of such a report, however, cannot be denied, from whatever source it originated. In the general amnesty published by Napoleon, “to all concerned in aiding the foreign armies to overthrow the imperial government in the preceding year,” thirteen persons were excepted; among whom the duke of Ragusa, and prince of Benevento, (Marmont and Talleyrand,) were most conspicuous.

Manifesto
from
Vienna.

On the first intelligence at Vienna of the landing of the ex-emperor, a manifesto was promulgated in the name of the allied sovereigns, declaring “that Napoleon Bonaparte, by breaking the convention which established him at Elba, had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relations; and as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, had rendered himself liable to public vengeance.” On the 25th March, the treaty of Chaumont was revived and confirmed, with

the addition, "that the high contracting parties solemnly engage not to lay down their arms until Napoleon Bonaparte shall be wholly and completely deprived of the power of exciting disturbances, and of being able to renew his attempts to obtain the chief power in France." The letters addressed to the sovereigns of Europe, were treated with the most contemptuous neglect; and some of these circulars were returned to him unopened. Even to the declaration, stating the flagrant violations of the treaty of Fontainebleau, no answer was deigned, and these heavy charges remain on the records of history unrefuted.

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All France seemed to unite in favour of the emperor; and the efforts of the royalists to excite a reaction in the provinces, proved abortive. The duke of Bourbon failed even in La Vendée; and the duke and duchess of Angouleme, were equally unsuccessful in the south. At Bourdeaux, so conspicuous last year for its loyalty, the duchess harangued the officers in person; but perceiving that no impression could be made, she indignantly exclaimed, "I release you from your oaths;" and took her departure in an English frigate. The duke, at the head of a small army, obtained some temporary advantages near Valence; but finding himself wholly unsupported

Unanimity
of France.

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and in imminent danger, he signed a convention with general Grouchy, who commanded in that quarter, by which he agreed to dismiss his army, on condition of indemnity to the officers and soldiers, and that he himself should be escorted to the port of Cette, there to embark for Spain. Grouchy, however, detained the duke till the ratification of Napoleon arrived; on the receipt of which he immediately set sail for Barcelona.

The French nation, nevertheless, awakened by degrees to its true situation. Napoleon had inculcated the idea that Austria favoured his enterprise, and that the empress and her son would speedily arrive in France; and in order to strengthen his interest and popularity, he was compelled, among other concessions, to restore the freedom of the press so far, as to occasion some unwelcome discoveries; and it was on the army, now reduced in point of numbers far below its former standard, and deprived of many of its best commanders, that he must depend not for glory merely, but for safety.

New Constitutional Act.

On the 23d of April, Napoleon published what he stiled an additional act to the constitution of the empire. This was to be submitted to the free acceptance of France; and it comprehended all those safeguards and bul-

warks of liberty, which characterize a constitutional monarchy. Had this been the voluntary emanation of wisdom and beneficence, in the height of his power, his name would have ranked among the most illustrious legislators. The grand ceremony of the *Champ de Mai*, deferred to the 1st of June, took place with all the imposing pageantry of a Parisian spectacle. Its business was solely to declare the national acceptance of the new act, which was done with almost perfect unanimity. The oath of Napoleon to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed, was followed by another of obedience to the constitution, and of fidelity to the emperor by the arch-chancellor, and this was repeated by the whole assembly. The imperial eagles were then distributed by Napoleon himself to the troops of the line, and the national guards, who swore to defend them at the hazard of their lives, and not to suffer foreigners to dictate laws to their country. The two chambers afterwards took the constitutional oath.

At the close of the last year, the whole fortified frontier of the Belgic provinces on the side of France, was occupied by garrisons composed chiefly of British troops, or troops in British pay. Large reinforcements had of

Allies prepare for War.

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late been sent, and the duke of Wellington had arrived to take the command. In May the Prussians, under general Blucher, reached the vicinity of Namur; and the French army had assembled near Avesnes in Flanders. The Austrians and Russians were also in motion, and the full tide of war rolled its billows to the west, with overwhelming force.

Las Cases.
II. p. 224.

Military
Operations
in Italy.

Previous to the departure of Napoleon from Elba, he had, in secrecy and confidence, imparted his determination to Joachim king of Naples, who professed an entire approval of the project, saying, “that his devotedness and ardour would obtain for him oblivion for the past.” On the first intelligence, nevertheless, of the landing of Napoleon, he declared to his council that he should adhere to his engagements with Austria. But on learning his triumphant entrance into Lyons, he threw off the mask, and avowing that he considered the cause of the emperor as his own, he demanded a passage for his army through the Papal territories. Not heeding the refusal of Pius VII. who retired to Genoa, Murat advanced in person to Ancona; and his army, in different divisions, penetrated to Lombardy, expelling the Austrian garrisons from Cesena and Rimini. He then issued a proclamation, calling upon Italy to assert its independence; but

King of
Naples de-
clares for
Napoleon.

the rashness of his enterprise was too apparent. He defeated, however, a body of 10,000 Austrians under general Bianchi on the Panaro; and seized upon Modena and Florence. Here his triumphs terminated. The emperor Francis, incensed at his duplicity, sent great reinforcements into Italy; and the Austrian general soon regained his superiority. After a succession of actions, in which the Neapolitans shewed themselves ill able to cope with the Austrian veterans, Naples was invested by land, and an English squadron blockaded the port. Thus reduced to extremity, Joachim escaped in disguise to the isle of Ischia, and thence to France. But Napoleon, who had not forgotten his former defection, refusing to avail himself of his services, he retired to Corsica, where he found a safe asylum. On the 20th of May a convention was signed at Naples, confirming the abdication of Joachim. His queen, the sister of Napoleon, was conveyed in an English frigate to Trieste.

On June 17th, Ferdinand, the legitimate monarch, re-entered his capital; and despotism, under the name of regular government and social order, was once more established among the Neapolitans.

The emperor Napoleon left Paris June 12th, and proceeded to Laon with his accustomed

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Campaign
in Flan-
ders.

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expedition, resolving to assail the Prussian and British armies before the Austrians and Russians were near enough to co-operate: and at the head of a numerous and well-appointed force, organized with wonderful skill, he made a furious attack at day-break, June 15th, on the Prussian posts upon the Sambre. Charleroi being carried, general Zeithen retired upon Fleurus, in order to unite his division with the main army near Ligny. Marshal Ney also, towards evening, forced back a division of the Belgian army to a village called Quatre Bras, in the vicinity of Brussels. Through some strange defect of intelligence, the noise of the cannon gave the first notification of this event to the commander-in-chief; who, with most of his officers was that very night engaged at a grand *fête*, which broke up in no small confusion. The troops in readiness were ordered under arms; and the division under general Picton, which first arrived, was followed by the corps under the duke of Brunswick, and soon after by the duke of Wellington in person. Here, on the 16th, a well-fought action took place, in which the gallant duke of Brunswick lost his life, with many of his brave companions in arms. The reiterated charges of the enemy were at

Battle of
Quatre
Bras.

length with difficulty repulsed, and the communication with the Prussians re-established.

On the same day, Napoleon, with the main army of the French, made a furious attack upon general Blucher, before the last division of the Prussians, under general Bulow, had arrived. After a bloody conflict, in which, it is said, quarter was neither asked nor given, the posts of Saint Amand and Ligny were carried by overpowering numbers. The retreat upon Wavre was conducted with skill and firmness, yet the loss was great; and Blucher himself, scorning disguise, acknowledged in his official dispatch, that the Prussians had been totally defeated. Napoleon, in consequence of this victory, made a movement to the left, to unite his army with that of Ney; leaving general Grouchy with a considerable force to observe the motions of Blucher.

The retreat of the Prussians to Wavre, caused the duke of Wellington to retire in the morning of the 17th upon Gemappe, and thence upon Waterloo, in order to maintain the communication. The chain of heights occupied by the British army two miles in front of the village of Waterloo, traversed the high roads leading from Charleroi and Nivelles to Brussels, and *uniting* at the hamlet of Saint

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Jean in the rear of the British position. The right wing extended to a ravine, between which and the centre lay the mansion and garden of Hougoumont, which were occupied in force. The left of the centre was covered by the farm of La Haye Sainte, beyond which the position opened to that of the Prussians at Wavre. The heights of Waterloo are confronted by another chain to the south, the space between being scarcely half a mile in breadth. The British army and their Belgic allies passed the night of the 17th under arms, exposed, during part of the time, to a violent tempest.

At the first dawn of the 18th June, Napoleon arrived with his advanced guard to the post of La Belle Alliance, in the rear of the adverse heights, along which the French divisions successively ranged. The battle commenced about ten, by a fierce assault on Hougoumont, and a heavy cannonade. Repeated attacks, both of cavalry and infantry, were then made on different points of the line, for several hours, with astonishing perseverance, and repelled with unremitting firmness. Heavy bodies of cuirassiers and lancers also advanced, supported by close columns of infantry. They were received by the battalions of the allies formed into hollow squares, those in the rear

covering the intervals of those in front; the artillery also being skilfully planted and served throughout the line, kept up a tremendous fire. The mutual slaughter was great, but the enemy could make no serious impression. Two thousand lives were lost in the assault on Hougomont alone; and this attempt being at length relinquished, a combined attack of cavalry and infantry was made on the left of the allies; and the post of La Haye Sainte, long and resolutely defended by the Hanoverian troops, was finally carried by storm at the point of the bayonet. The event now appeared very doubtful, for the arrival of the Prussians had long been looked for in vain.

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Animated by success, the enemy renewed their efforts to break the British centre. At this crisis, sir Thomas Picton, who ranked among the most distinguished ornaments of his profession, leading on his division to charge the assailants, was shot through the head. A general cavalry action ensued, in which the British, pursuing too far their advantage, sustained considerable loss, chiefly from the Polish lancers. In this encounter fell sir William Ponsonby and other gallant officers. While the battle still raged with doubtful and varying success, the distant sound of cannon was heard, and soon the advanced brigades of the

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Prussians, under general Bulow, were seen to emerge from the woods on the left. They were immediately opposed by the French reserve, under count Lobau. Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, were again the objects of contest, while the British, once more assailed along the whole extent of the line, were cheered by the heroism of the commander, who exposed his person to every danger. "What will they say in England," said he, "if we are defeated?"

O'Meara,
St. Helena,
I. p. 174.

Napoleon had, at the first, mistaken the Prussian brigades for the troops of Grouchy; but to his great astonishment, he at length perceived the main body of the Prussian army rapidly approaching. It was yet in his power to have effected a retreat in good order; instead of which, he determined to hazard a final and desperate attack, which might decide the battle before any effectual succour could be given. About seven in the evening, therefore, he brought forward the imperial guards, who were sustained by the best regiments of horse and foot, the flower of the army, amid shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* and flourishes of martial music. Now it was that Napoleon, at the head of these devoted troops, should have conquered or died; but he satisfied himself with placing them under the conduct of the

brave marshal Ney. From the rapidity and eagerness of their march, the columns were thrown into some disorder; and this not passing unobserved by the English commander, he ordered an immediate and general charge. The French fell back amazed, and scarcely waiting the exchange of bayonets, these famous veterans were broke and dispersed almost without an effort; the marshal in vain attempting to rally the fugitives. The Prussians had now come up in full force; and while the British assailed the centre of the enemy in front, marshal Blucher attacked them in flank and rear. The sun, which had been during the day enveloped in clouds, at this moment burst out in all its radiance. The French, exhausted and dismayed, yielded to the shock; order was no more, commands were useless, and irretrievable confusion prevailed.

Napoleon himself, on seeing the columns of the imperial guard recoil, seemed much agitated, and when the rout became apparent, he said to the persons near him, "It is all over; we must save ourselves." Attended by a few officers, he hastened through Charleroi to Philippeville; and after leaving orders for reassembling the army at Avesnes, he, as if in despair of his fortune, took the road to Paris.

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O'Meara,
St. Helena,
l. 466.

That Blucher could appear again in force two days only after suffering a total defeat, was allowed by Napoleon himself to have been an almost unprecedented exertion. The manœuvre also by which he effected this, by leaving a division of his army at Wavre to occupy the attention of Grouchy, and to mask his own movement to the left, was very skilful. The pursuit was left chiefly to the Prussians, who continued it through a great part of the night with merciless vengeance. No victory could be more complete ; the vanquished army losing all their artillery, camp equipage, and magazines. Exclusive of the dreadful slaughter in and after the battle, 7000 prisoners were taken. The French army was in effect annihilated. Nothing resembling this disaster had occurred, or been attended with such extensive consequences, since the battle of Blenheim. On the part of the victors, the loss could scarcely be estimated so low as 20,000 men ; for that of the British and Hanoverians alone exceeded 13,000. On this occasion, even the generalship of Napoleon, as usually happens to the unfortunate in war, incurred severe animadversion. “ By what fatality,” says marshal Ney, in a letter to M. Fouché, “ did the emperor, instead of leading all his forces against the duke of Wellington, who

would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? Had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with the most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been destroyed between Quatre Bras and Gemappe; but fate ordered it otherwise.”

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Napoleon arrived at Paris on the evening of June 20th, and no attempt was made by him to conceal the extent of the disaster. In this emergency, it was suggested by some of his adherents that the only remedy was the assumption of dictatorial authority, and the suspension of the legislature. But the two chambers hastily assembling, declared their sittings permanent; and denounced all attempts to dissolve them as treasonable. The ministers of state were then invited to assist at their deliberations. After a short interval of vacillation, produced by the last expiring struggles of ambition, Napoleon, perceiving that his authority was no longer regarded, issued (June 22d) a declaration, in which, professing “to offer himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France, he affirmed that his political life was terminated, and that he resigned in favour of his son, Napoleon II.” a measure evidently and utterly inadmissible.

Second ab-
dication of
Napoleon.

Las Cases,
II. pt. iii.
p. 14.

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Provisional
Government ap-
pointed.

The minister of police, Fouché, having laid this declaration before the legislative body, that assembly voted an address of thanks for the sacrifice he had made, and accepted the abdication, but eluded the recognition of his son as successor. This was presented to Napoleon by the president Lanjuinais, at the head of a deputation. A provisional government was then appointed by the two chambers, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette; and a commission nominated to repair to the allied armies with proposals for peace. The emperor, as the last act of his public life, issued a farewell address to the army, and, retiring to Malmaison, occupied himself in preparing for a voyage to North America, which he had fixed upon as his future asylum; and June 29th, he set out for Rochefort, where a small squadron awaited his orders.

From Malplaquet the duke of Wellington addressed, June 21st, a proclamation to the people of France, announcing “that he had entered the country, not as an enemy—except of the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce—but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed.” And

this commander enforced throughout his progress the strictest military discipline.

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At Laon, marshals Soult and Ney, who had collected the remains of the army so lately the dread of Europe, were joined by general Grouchy, making together a force of about 30,000 men; with which, eluding all attempts to intercept them, they gained the road to Paris through Meaux. The march of the allies was one continued triumph. Avesnes, Cambray, Peronne, &c. either opened their gates, or were reduced after slight resistance. The commissioners from the provisional government were directed to repair to the sovereigns at Haguenau. By the end of June, the British and Prussian commanders invested Paris on both sides the Seine. The city was defended by 50,000 regular troops, besides national guards and volunteers. Yet at a general council of war it was resolved, July 2d, to send a deputation to St. Cloud, to treat with the allied generals, expecting, doubtless, under such circumstances, to obtain very favourable terms. Accordingly on the next day a convention was signed, importing "that Paris should be evacuated in three days by the French army, which should retire beyond the Loire; *and all individuals now resident in the*

Second
capitulation
of
Paris, July
3d.

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*capital should enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account either for the situations they may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions.”** This manifestly amounted to a full and general amnesty.

At Paris the chambers still continued their sittings; but this show of authority was soon terminated. Louis XVIII. had, in 1814, been placed on the throne in conformity to the will of the nation. He was now reinstated solely by a foreign force. The chambers were closed by order of the military; and on the 8th of July that monarch once more made his entry into the capital, under the most gloomy and unpropitious omens.

Napoleon
surrenders
to the
English.

The ex-emperor arrived at Rochefort, July 3d, attended by an escort of honour, and took up his residence at the house of the prefect, with the view of immediate embarkation. But the *Bellerophon*, a British ship of the line, and other vessels, were cruising at the entrance of the harbour. After some days of anxious suspense, Napoleon sent a flag of truce to captain Maitland, requesting a free passage; but this could not be granted. He then made an offer

* “Sans pouvoir être inquiétés, ni recherchés, en rien relativement aux fonctions qu'ils occupent, ou auraient occupées, à leur conduite et à leurs opinions politiques.” Such are the emphatic words of the original.

of surrender, on conditions; but the commander had no power to negotiate. On the morning of the 15th, he finally resolved to throw himself on British protection and generosity; and with his slender train, he was received with every mark of respect on board the *Bellerophon*, which forthwith sailed for Torbay.

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From the *Bellerophon*, Napoleon addressed a letter to the prince regent in the following terms:—"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."*

The implied reflection on the French loyalists, and still more on the allied sovereigns, could not fail to offend; nor was the forced

* *Original*.—"Altesse Royale. En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des plus grande puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique: et je viens, comme Thémistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses loix, que je réclame de V.A.R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus généreux de mes ennemis. NAPOLEON."

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Exiled to
St. Helena.

allusion to Themistocles calculated to excite sympathy. No notice whatever was deigned of this letter. He was not suffered to land on the British coast. No title beyond that of general was allowed him. His property was sequestered. In fine, it was announced that his future residence was unalterably determined to St. Helena, there to be detained as a state prisoner, under the inspection of commissioners from the allied powers. Against this terrific sentence of banishment to a rock in the southern Atlantic, he entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a captive, having surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated; and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was not amenable.

O'Meara,
l. p. 95.

Having been transferred to the Northumberland, bearing the flag of admiral sir George Cockburn, with the faithful few who chose to share his fortunes, that vessel proceeded on her voyage, August 8, and arrived in a few weeks at the place of its destination. Such is the strange vicissitude of human affairs! and in so dark a cloud did the splendid career of Napoleon terminate! In his state of exile he expressed indeed neither regret for his past errors, nor resignation to his present fate. On the contrary, his language to the governor, whose resent-

ment he set at open defiance, was, “ You have power over my body, but none over my soul. That soul is as proud, fierce, and determined at the present moment, as when it commanded Europe.” His whole deportment was governed by the same unseasonable haughtiness. On various occasions application was unavailingly made to ascertain his wants and wishes. To captain Hamilton, of the frigate Havanna, at an audience previous to the departure of that officer from St. Helena, he said, “ They wish to know what I desire : I demand my liberty or my death. Report these words to your prince regent. I was not your prisoner. Savages would have had more respect for my situation. Your ministers have basely violated in my person the sacred rights of hospitality. They have for ever dishonoured England. I have been cruelly deceived, but Heaven will avenge my wrongs.”

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Las Cases,
II. pt. III.
p. 70, 367.

That the last scenes of his life should be embittered by every species of vexation and chagrin must, therefore, be rather the subject of regret than of wonder. After twice abdicating the imperial dignity, he still affected to maintain the state of an emperor. His remonstrances were invectives tending only to irritation. Weighed down by mental suffering

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Character
of Napo-
leon.

and the disorders incident to a tropical climate, he expired May 5th, 1821*.

Looking to the dark side of the portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte, his early conduct to Venice, his barbarities at Jaffa, his warfare against St. Domingo, his treatment of Tous-saint, Wright, D'Enghien, &c., his treachery to Spain, his sacrifice of the Tyrolese, his insidious protestations to Poland, his boundless usurpations, and inextinguishable thirst of empire, it may be asked, what can redeem the vices of his character? But if the good and evil deeds of all men ought to be placed in balance, this is more especially the case with those who have swayed the rod of empire; and compared with his more immediate

* That Sir Hudson Lowe himself, the obnoxious governor of St. Helena, was originally solicitous to conciliate the regard and favour of Napoleon, is sufficiently apparent even from the narrative of Count Las Cases; but his advances were repulsed with disdain. After one of his early visits to Longwood, the ex-emperor made the following singular acknowledgement to his circle of friends:—"I behaved very ill to him, no doubt; and nothing but my present situation could excuse me; but I was out of humour, and *could not help it!* Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries, I should have felt myself bound in conscience to make some atonement. Here I uttered not a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish to do so. I should have liked to have seen him evince a little anger." Las Cases, II. part III. p. 367.

predecessors in the career of fame, Louis XIV., Peter the Great, or Frederic of Prussia, the moral and political conduct of Bonaparte will appear to no disadvantage. The first effort of his government was to restore peace to the world—an effort answered only by contumely and insult. His subsequent attempts of 1805 and 1807 were equally ineffectual. Compelled, therefore, to press forward in the path of victory, he no longer sought for peace; and intoxicated with success, he finally fell the victim of his own presumption.

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In splendor of genius, in the patronage of arts and sciences, in national works of utility and magnificence, and in calling forth merit of every kind, he far excelled all the sovereigns of his time. Also, from the peculiar situation in which he stood, his political aggrandisement was closely connected with the civil and religious interests of humanity. France, Italy, and the Low Countries, felt and acknowledged the equity of his internal government. He was a beneficent legislator; and the code which he promulgated will transmit his name with honour to succeeding generations. “Had Heaven granted me a few years,” said he, “I would have made Paris the capital of the world, and France a fairy land. Rome should

Las Cases,
II. 281.

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O'Meara,
II. 349.

have arisen from its ashes." The revolution he described "as a general movement of the nation against the privileged classes. It established equality of rights, it amalgamated the various states of the monarchy into one, with the same civil and criminal laws. Just emerged from a revolution, menaced by enemies within and without, the system of government must be adapted to circumstances; but in quieter times," said he, "I should have commenced my constitutional reign." Yet under this *iron sceptre*, it has been remarked, "there were no feudal tenures, no corvée, no seigneurial rights, no game laws, no oppressive and overgrown hierarchy, no pains and penalties for religious opinions, no privileged orders, no asylum for criminals, &c.; yet all these subsisted under the former *paternal* government."

Session of
Parliament
resumed.

In the parliamentary discussions which arose on the royal message of May 22d, and its concomitant documents, lord Castlereagh stated, "that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had engaged to furnish contingents in the following proportion:—Austria 300,000, Russia 225,000, Prussia 236,000 men; and the remaining states of Germany 150,000. Great Britain and Holland 50,000 each; and Britain to advance the sum of 5,000,000 in subsidies." The measures of the ministry were supported

by vast majorities in both houses, and the almost unanimous voice of the nation; there were notwithstanding, a few individuals in each house, distinguished for talent and integrity, who differed essentially from this warlike policy: and the debate in the house of peers was rendered memorable by the opposition of sentiment on this grand point, between the lords Grey and Grenville, who had for ten years past acted in concert, with honour to themselves and advantage to the public. With lord Grenville the whole Grenville party, including Mr. Grattan and Mr. Plunket, the two most distinguished members of the Irish representation, zealously concurred; and from this æra they were considered as forming a distinct political connexion.

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With respect to the policy of interference in the present quarrel, it seemed reasonable to argue, that although Great Britain had been induced by powerful motives to concur in the restoration of Louis XVIII, she was under no obligation by enormous exertions to maintain his right and title to a crown which he had lost, before the first year of his reign had closed, by his own egregious indiscretion. Had he aimed to establish his throne in the hearts of his people, he might have scorned the efforts of a fallen adversary. But though Louis had not ventured to act altogether upon the

Policy of
the War.

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plan of the Spanish and Neapolitan branches of his family, he had, by all the feeble displays which his nature and situation would admit, excited the utmost jealousy and resentment of France. If the Gallic Bourbons were now re-instated, it must be effected solely by foreign force. In such a case, success would be the triumph of despotism.

Formida-
ble power
of Russia.

The danger from France, despoiled of her conquests, exhausted by her efforts, and opposed by a league the most formidable ever known, now no longer existed. Russia was evidently the power which threatened to overwhelm Europe. In that half civilized, half barbarous state of society, so favourable to military enterprize, she had within the compass of half a century extended her empire to the mouths of the Nieper and the Danube. By her last treaty with Sweden, she had seized upon all the provinces east of the Gulf of Bohemia; she had since appropriated the greater part of Poland; which, till crushed by the force and fraud of Russia, had for ages ranked among the leading powers of Christendom, and had long been its chief bulwark against the Turkish infidels! Prussia, restored as a kingdom by the arms of Russia, was sunk to a state almost of vassalage. Scarcely indeed could Prussia, though elevated to an artificial height by the

talents of Frederic the Great, be regarded as an integral or national power; her monarchy being formed out of provinces belonging to Poland on one side, and to Germany on the other. In fine, the Russians having experienced the contrast between their own frozen deserts and the beautiful regions of the south, would on the slightest pretexts be ever ready to attempt new conquests and new ravages, without any hazard of retaliation. Nor was the danger in the least abated by the personal character of the emperor Alexander; plausible, dissembling, rapacious, yet studious of appearances; and affecting, so long as it served his purpose, to be the patron of liberal opinions. Even should the second restoration of the house of Bourbon be deemed indispensable, the powers of the Continent were surely equal to the task, without again involving Britain in a contest, in which she had already, for a long series of years, borne so ruinous and disproportionate a share.

The current of public opinion, nevertheless, as in 1793 and 1803, set entirely in the opposite direction; the subsidies being voted by the house of commons on a division, strange as it must appear in the retrospect, of 160 to 17 members. The first fruits of the prevailing system appeared in an estimate of expenditure for the present year, of a magnitude far

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Unparalleled Expenditure of Great Britain.

BOOK XLII. exceeding all precedent; the amount being 79,968,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 9,760,000*l.* for Ireland. To meet this astonishing demand, the war taxes were continued to the height. Two successive loans were negotiated for 45,000,000 and a half; and a vote of credit passed for 6,000,000. Subsequent to the victory of Waterloo, the additional sum of 200,000*l.* was granted to the duke of Wellington. Also to the parliamentary and royal honours and rewards conferred on the victors, a national and truly noble subscription of nearly half a million was raised for the relief of the soldiers disabled by wounds, and the widows of the slain.

Marriage
of the
Duke of
Cumber-
land.

Towards the close of the session, a message from the prince regent announced the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the princess of Salms Braunfels, relict of the late prince, and daughter of the reigning duke of Mecklenburg, brother to the queen. The recommendation of the message for a provision suitable to the occasion, was negatived by 126 to 125 voices. This was ascribed in some degree to the queen's disapproval of the marriage, for reasons little interesting to the British public; but chiefly to the prevailing prepossession against the duke, who soon afterwards with his amiable and accomplished consort, for such she

appeared, returned to Germany; where he had long resided.

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On presenting the money bills for the royal assent, the speaker addressed the prince regent in terms of the highest exultation. "The fate of Europe," said he, "has been again brought to issue. The conflict was tremendous, but the result has been glorious. The usurper of a throne which he has twice abdicated, has sought his safety in an ignominious flight, and the rightful sovereign of France has once more resumed the sceptre of his ancestors." On the 11th of July, 1815, the parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, exhorting the two houses "not to relax in their exertions to establish the permanent peace and security of Europe."

1815.
Address
of the
Speaker.

The humiliations of France may be said to have commenced on the day that Louis XVIII. made his second entrée into Paris. It had been the pride and boast of Napoleon to adorn the gallery of the Louvre with the masterpieces of antient and modern art, brought thither from distant regions, as the monuments and trophies of victory. These were now reclaimed, and restored to Germany, to Flanders, and to Italy. Venice received back the famous Corinthian horses; Florence the Venus of Medicis; Rome the Apollo Belvidere, and

Humilia-
tion of
France.

BOOK
XLI.1815.
Second
Treaty of
Paris.

the *chef-d'œuvres* of Raffael, and Michael Angelo. In November the terms on which France was permitted to retain her station in Europe were definitively settled at Paris. By this treaty, Louis ceded to the allies the important fortresses of Landau, Saar-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with the duchy of Bouillon. Versoy and part of the territory of Gex, were yielded to the Helvetic confederacy; the works of Huninguen were dismantled; and France engaged to erect no others within the distance of three leagues from Bâle; thus leaving a free passage into the heart of France. Moreover, Condé, Valenciennes, Cambray, and fourteen other fortified towns and cities, the bulwarks of her Flemish and Germanic frontier, were delivered up to the allies to be held in trust for five years by an army of occupation, consisting of 150,000 men, to be maintained solely at the expense of France; who also, by way of indemnity to the allies, engaged to pay the sum of 700,000,000 of francs. Conditions so degrading, Marlborough and Eugene had never offered to impose after ten victorious campaigns. Such, however, was the mode adopted by the allies to maintain the imbecile and improvident Louis on his inglorious and tottering throne.

Influenced by recent and not yet obliterated terrors, the monarch seemed to be disposed in this new state of things, to adopt a popular system of government; M. Talleyrand being appointed minister for foreign affairs, baron Louis of finance, Fouché of police, and St. Cyr of war. And prince Talleyrand on the 27th of July addressed a letter to viscount Castlereagh, then at Paris, in reply to his urgent solicitations, announcing “that his most Christian majesty had issued directions in order that on the part of France the traffic in slaves may cease from the present time, every where and for ever.” But a change of policy soon took place; and an ordonnance was issued, declaring that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Bonaparte, had forfeited their dignity. Another ordonnance contained a long list of generals and officers who had taken part in what was commonly stiled the hundred days’ reign of Napoleon. These were ordered to be arrested and brought to trial before courts martial. In a second list were inserted the names of very many persons in Paris, who were ordered to withdraw into the interior till their fate could be determined on. On the 11th of August, a proclamation was issued for disbanding the

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XLI.1815.
Interior
state of
France.

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1815.

army, and replacing it by a new one organized on national principles. Thus was France left without defence, and great confusion ensued; particularly in those departments where the protestants most abounded; and at Nismes a sanguinary scene took place, which revived the recollection of St. Bartholomew.

Criminal
Prosecu-
tions.

The duc de Richelieu now superseded Talleyrand as first minister, Des Cases was appointed to the department of police, and Barbé-Marbois of justice. Labedoyère, the first officer of rank who had joined Napoleon, was tried, condemned, and executed, under the royal ordonnance. After a short interval it was judged expedient to proceed with the same rigour against marshal Ney, who had fought the battles of his country with so much glory, and who, being resident in Paris at the period of the last capitulation, was unquestionably included in the convention by which that capital, which was very capable of defence, was surrendered without bloodshed. No exceptions whatever were made; and if words have any meaning, the amnesty was full and general.

It appears that the English court had been originally much dissatisfied with the latitude and liberality of the terms of this famous convention; which, if any difficulty arose, were by the

XVth Article to be interpreted in favour of the capitularies : and earl Bathurst, one of the English secretaries of state, in his letter to the duke of Wellington, dated July 7th, had expressed himself as follows :—"Although your grace has stated distinctly that the convention entered into by you and marshal prince Blucher, on the one hand, and certain French authorities on the other, upon the 3d instant, while it decided all the military questions, had touched nothing political, and although it cannot be *imagined* that in a convention negotiated with these authorities by prince Blucher and your grace, you would enter into any engagement, whereby it should be presumed that his most Christian majesty was absolutely precluded from the just exercise of his authority, in bringing to condign punishment such of his subjects as had, by their treasonable machinations, and unprovoked rebellion," &c.—concluding with the declaration, "that the prince regent deems the XIIth Article to be binding only in the conduct of the military commanders."

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1815.
Letter of
Earl
Bathurst.

To this hypothetical language it may suffice to reply, that the question is not one of *imagination*, but of *fact*. The convention professes indeed to touch no political questions ; but it grants life, liberty, and property without re-

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XLI.

1815.

servation of any kind, to the persons described in the XIIth Article. Were the commanders who signed this convention, as soon as the capital was surrendered upon the faith of it, entitled to say, "All this means nothing. You are still liable, in common with the whole French nation, to the penalties of treason, for the article upon which you rely for security is political, and the convention touches no political question"? Would the city have been given up tamely, if such base tergiversation had been suspected?

Declara-
tion of the
Duke of
Wellington.

Nevertheless, in answer to the direct and strong appeal of marshal Ney, the duke of Wellington, to the astonishment of Europe, hesitated not to affirm, "that the object of the XIIth Article was to prevent any measure of severity, under *the military authority of those who made it*, towards any persons in Paris, on account of any office they had filled or any conduct or political opinion of theirs;"—but what foreign authority could exist to punish for civil offences? "Had I not," said M. Ney, "relied on the sacred word thus pledged, I should in some unknown land have made myself forgotten. At Naples, where the capitulation made by captain Foote was not respected by lord Nelson, and where the parties surrendering upon the faith of it, were persecuted, and

perished under the re-established Neapolitan government, that odious transaction has cast a shade over the character of lord Nelson; and excited so much horror in England, that nothing but the eminent services of that commander, could have saved him from being the object of parliamentary investigation."

The declaration of the duke of Wellington was the death-warrant of marshal Ney; who was executed as a soldier, high in rank and reputation, on the 7th December. He died with heroic firmness. But this act of vengeance added neither grace, nor stability to the throne. Marshal Soult, who had been placed at the head of the war department by Napoleon, and was present in the battles of Ligny, and Waterloo, was involved in the same danger with marshal Ney; but made so noble a defence, that it was found impossible to continue the proceedings against him. "The king," said he, "had retired from the kingdom. All France had submitted; and the government of the *usurper* was established *in fact*. Prussian, English, and Austrian battalions, had already raised on our frontier the cry of hatred, and vengeance. At the approach of this torrent, composed of numerous nations, amidst which there did not appear a single Frenchman, the only prospect which seemed

Execution
of Marshal
Ney.

Noble de-
fence of M.
Soult.

BOOK to present itself, was the ruin of France. My
 XLI. heart told me, that a French marshal, as a
 1815. citizen and a soldier, could not allow his sword
 to remain in his scabbard."

State of
 the French
 West
 Indies.

In the French West-India islands, the intelligence of Bonaparte's success awakened the spirit of military enthusiasm. In Martinique, count de Vaugirard, in the fear of an open revolt, and with the view of preventing a fatal effusion of blood, permitted all the officers and soldiers, who desired their release, to depart for France. In Guadaloupe, that revolt actually took place; the governor himself, count de Linois, issuing a proclamation in which he recognized Napoleon as emperor. The royalists, however, were powerfully aided by the British commanders in that quarter, sir James Leith and admiral Durham, who, landing on the island in August, after a severe conflict, compelled the insurgents to a capitulation; but it was restored without compensation to France, on the subsequent restoration of Louis.

Disastrous
 fate of
 Murat.

While Murat still remained in Corsica, he received proposals from the emperor Francis of an honourable asylum in Bohemia, or Austria; in which case he might proceed to Trieste to rejoin his wife and family. This offer he rashly refused; and having engaged some hundreds of the Corsican mountaineers

in his service, he embarked his troops early in October, in five small vessels, intending to land at Salerno : but his flotilla was dispersed in a storm ; and on making the coast of Calabria, he could only muster thirty officers. On attempting to raise the inhabitants, he was attacked by an armed force, overpowered, and taken prisoner after a desperate resistance. Pursuant to orders from Naples, he was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and shot on the same day ; behaving with his wonted courage. His military talents, in his own line of a cavalry commander, were confessedly great ; and Napoleon probably incurred no slight injury by not availing himself of them in the last campaign. Under his government, Naples, emerging from its barbarism, rose to a respectable rank among the nations of Europe ; but his political ability as a sovereign among sovereigns, was very limited.

Since the assumption of the regal title by the prince of Orange, his moderation and prudence had been conspicuous ; and the hereditary prince, who was wounded in the glorious field of Waterloo, and had on various occasions displayed all the heroism of the house of Orange, was much beloved for the generosity of his disposition, and the affability of his manners. Subsequent to that great victory, a

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1815.

Inauguration of the
King of the
Netherlands.

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1815.

committee had been appointed to draw up a constitution for the seventeen Provinces; the report of whom had been transmitted to the sovereign in July; and afterwards laid before an extraordinary assembly of the States of the United Netherlands, by whom it was unanimously accepted. The chief objection to this union had arisen from the strong attachment of Holland to the reformed, and of Flanders to the catholic religion. This was strikingly manifested in an address from certain prelates to the king of the Netherlands, dated July 28. In this piece it was affirmed, “that the equal favour and protection to all religions promised by the new constitution, was inconsistent with the assurances of his majesty, that the establishment and privileges of the catholic church should be preserved; and incompatible with the fundamental principles of that church.” This remonstrance, however, produced no serious effect. And by a subsequent royal ordonnance, the security and freedom of the catholic church were assured, without any infringement of the rights of toleration. In September, the inauguration of the king took place at Brussels—with every mark of satisfaction; and the discourse delivered upon this occasion at the cathedral of Saint Gede, was replete with sentiments of chris-

tian benevolence. Soon after the promulgation of this constitution, a matrimonial alliance took place between the prince of Orange and the grand-duchess Anne, sister of the emperor Alexander.

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1815.

By a solemn act of confederation, signed June 8th at Vienna, the German states confided the governance of the general concerns, of what was still called the Empire, to a diet composed of the representatives of the sovereign princes and free cities, including Austria, in whom the presidency was vested, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Wirtemberg, Denmark for Holstein, and the king of the Netherlands for Luxemburg. The smaller states were classified, and each class was empowered to send a deputation to the diet, which was appointed to be held at Frankfort. The number of votes was limited to seventeen; and all differences which might arise, were to be submitted to the arbitration of this assembly. All were leagued against foreign attack, and Germany was in fact converted into a sort of imperial republic.

Germanic
Confederation.

The Congress of Vienna decided the fate of Poland, by finally assigning the duchy of Warsaw to the emperor of Russia; who being now master of the far greater part of that antient kingdom, assumed the style and title

Kingdom
of Poland
restored.

BOOK
XLI.

1815.

Continental Indemnities.

of king of Poland; conferring also, after a short interval, upon that country, the national distinctions of a diet, and representative constitution; and the Poles saw themselves restored, at least to the shadow of their former sovereignty. In compensation for the provinces of which Prussia was thus deprived, half the dominions of the king of Saxony, as a punishment for his adherence to the French alliance, which as Napoleon was in actual possession of his country he could not relinquish, were transferred to Frederic William, who then took the titles of duke of Saxony, margrave of the Lusatias, and landgrave of Thuringia. He received also Polish Prussia, Dantzic, and Thorne, with the duchy of Posen; and, in Germany, Swedish Pomerania, and a large tract of territory on the Rhine. The emperor Francis regained the Tyrol, an equivalent being assigned to Bavaria in Swabia and Franconia. Hanover received the bishoprick of Hildesheim, and the province of East Friesland, in addition to Osnaburg. In the division of the spoil Great Britain only was forgotten. She did not even obtain any security for the repayment of the Austrian loans: and in lieu of solid advantages, was complimented, and recognized, as *protectress*

of the Ionian republic. This, however, afforded a new source of regal patronage.

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XLI.

1815.
State of
Spain.

In Spain, bigotry, cruelty, and despotism reigned uncontrolled. In the autumn of this year, a premature attempt was made by general Porlier, one of the guerilla chiefs, to excite the Gallicians to arms. In his proclamation (September 19th) he says, “ No one is ignorant that the king, surrounded by unjust counsellors, has consented to a proscription so atrocious that the most illustrious and deserving men have been the first victims of it; the flood-gates of despotism have been opened. In this situation no alternative remains, but to take up arms. Let us remove those wicked counsellors. Let us re-establish the Cortes; and let them determine the system which is to govern us. In the mean time, let the provinces appoint their “ internal juntas.” But the exhortations of this illustrious patriot did not produce the expected effect; and after maintaining possession of Ferrol and Corunna for some days, he undertook an expedition to Compostella; in the course of which, being denounced by the clergy, who were very powerful in that city, and who are said to have lavished their wealth in corrupting the troops, he found himself suddenly deserted; and being captured with most of his officers, he was

Insurrec-
tion in
Gallicia.

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XLI.

1815.

thrown into the common prison loaded with chains; and after a short interval condemned, and executed, with many others of his late companions in arms. On the arrival of the first exaggerated accounts of this insurrection at Madrid, the affrighted monarch dismissed the duke of St. Carlos, prime minister, from his office; and Escoiquiez, his confessor, was removed to Cordova; but on the suppression of this abortive attempt, the *Liberales*, as they were stiled, suffered under a more rigorous persecution than ever, from the execrable Ferdinand.

Reflections
on the Gal-
lic War.

With the second restoration of Louis XVIII. terminated that mighty revolution, which for twenty-five years past had fixed the attention of Christendom, and it may almost be said of the world, to the comparative exclusion of every other object. In its origin it wore a fair and promising aspect; but inflamed by opposition from without, and still more by treachery from within, it astonished and terrified mankind. A grand crisis occurred on the application of Louis XVI. for the mediation of Great Britain at the commencement of the war with Austria, in the spring of 1792; an application which in fact made England the umpire of Europe. Not only no solid, but no plausible reason has been assigned for the

refusal of an office so honourable, and so useful. But, unfortunately, the English government *chose* rather to take part in the war against France than to arrest its progress. The successive overtures of 1800, 1805, and 1807, were rejected without a hearing. As a belligerent power, the achievements of Britain have been splendid; but what are the ultimate results? *At home*, an increase of 600,000,000 to the public debt; of 30,000,000 to the permanent taxes; an immense augmentation of the civil and military establishments; and, consequently, of the influence and patronage of the crown; in fine, of pauperism and distress, followed, too naturally, by discontent and disaffection.¹

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XLI.

1815.

Abroad we see the triumph of despotism and bigotry; the re-establishment of the Bourbons, and in their train the inquisition, the Jesuits, and the papacy. To these results may be added the enslavement of Italy, the political annihilation of Denmark, and the enormous extension of the power of Russia, with whom but a short time previous to the Gallic war, the English government, had not the wisdom of parliament interposed, would have engaged in hostilities for the sake of a single fortress! And when at length the war was terminated on conditions prescribed by the allies, what were the advantages secured to this country?

BOOK
XLI.
1815.
O'Meara,
vol. II.
Las Cases,
vol. III.

“What peace dictated by me,” said Napoleon, in a voice which has resounded from the desolate rock of St. Helena, “had I been victorious, could have been worse in its effects than the one made by lord Castlereagh? By assisting the colonies of Spanish America, you might have all their commerce. In the actual position of affairs, nothing could have been refused to you. But what, in fact, has England gained? The cordons of the allied sovereigns for lord Castlereagh! England has succeeded in all; she has effected impossibilities, yet has gained nothing, and her people are starving; whilst France, who has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied.

“The worst thing that England has ever done is that of endeavouring to make herself a great military nation. The marine is the real force of your country. England, to recover herself, must renew her commerce. She must no longer be a Continental power. She must proceed in her proper sphere as possessing the command of the sea. You must return to your ships. It appears to me to be clearly the intention of your ministers to subject England to a military yoke, and to put down by degrees the liberty which prevails there; great calamities await the developement of this sys-

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XLI.
1815.

tem. All those honours conferred on the military, and the tenor of other steps lately adopted, are so many preliminaries towards it. The battle of Waterloo was as fatal to the liberties of Europe in its effects, as that of Philippi was to Rome; and, like it, has precipitated Europe into the hands of *Triumvirs*, associated together for the oppression of mankind, the suppression of knowledge, and the restoration of superstition."—"England and France held in their hands the fate of the world. What good might we not have effected! Under Pitt's system we desolated the world. Had that of Fox prevailed, we should have accomplished the dominion of principles, and every where have established peace and prosperity."

Las Cases,
III. pt. iii.
p. 67.

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE III.

BOOK XLII.

Session of Parliament, February 1816. Holy Alliance. Marriage of the Princess Charlotte. State of Ireland. Petitions to Parliament. Rise of Radicalism. Expedition against Algiers. Despotism of Ferdinand VII. Spencean Societies denounced. Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Circular Letter of Lord Sidmouth. Mr. Manners Sutton chosen Speaker. Lord Amherst's Embassy to China. Transactions in India. War of Nepaul. Trials for High Treason. Death of the Princess Charlotte. Royal Marriages. Treaty with Spain. Resignation of Lord Ellenborough. Death of the Queen. New Parliament convened January 1819. Foreign Enlistment Bill. Report of Finance Committee. New Settlement in Africa. Case of Parga. Popular Meetings for Reform. Dreadful Catastrophe at Manchester. Coercive Acts passed. Demise of King George III. Situation of Europe.

BOOK
XLII.
1816.
Session of
Parliament
Feb. 1.

THE speech of the prince regent, delivered by commission at the commencement of the session, February 1st, 1816, was filled with the happiest auguries of returning prosperity.

The commons were assured of “ the disposition of his royal highness to concur in such measures of œconomy, as would be found consistent with the security of the country, and with its station and high character among the European powers.” An amendment to the address, by Mr. Brand, pledged the house, in return, “to enter upon a revisal of the civil and military establishments, and at an early period to take into serious consideration the state of the country.” The amendment was rejected by 90 to 23 votes, and the address passed in its original form.

BOOK
XLII.
1816.

On the 9th February, Mr. Brougham moved for the copy of a treaty entered into at Paris, September 26th, 1815, between the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the great *triumvirs*, who now ruled the destinies of Europe. This treaty was known by the strange appellation of “ the holy alliance ; ” the three sovereigns declaring their resolution to take for their sole guide, both in their domestic and foreign relations, the precepts of the holy religion of Christ their Saviour. The first article of this confederacy united the high contracting powers in a fraternal bond of mutual aid, assistance, and friendship. The second was expressive of their delegation by Providence to govern *three branches of one and the same*

Holy Alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

BOOK
XLII.
1816.

christian nation. The third declared a readiness to receive into this *holy alliance* all the powers who should acknowledge the sacred principles of it.

To whatever political jealousies this extraordinary alliance might give birth, it was gratifying to observe the progress of religious toleration: the three sovereigns, notwithstanding the diversity of their respective creeds, describing the people whom they governed as constituting *one* great religious community; thus reviving the exquisitely pleasing ideas comprehended in the term *Christendom*.

Mr. Brougham observed, that there was something so singular in the language of this treaty, as to warrant no slight suspicion; and he could not think it had reference to objects merely spiritual. Nothing had so nearly in words resembled this christian convention, as that which had led to the partition of Poland. The treaty had been signed by the sovereigns themselves, and not, as usual, by their ministers; and the whole was portentous of mystery.

Lord Castlereagh resisted the production of this document, Great Britain not being a party to the treaty; though he admitted that the prince regent, whose accession had been solicited, had expressed his entire satisfaction in

its tendency. This motion being negatived, a second was brought forward by the same member, for an address to the prince regent, “entreating his consideration relative to the sufferings of the late Spanish régency and cortes, and representing that the alliance subsisting with his catholic majesty affords the most favourable opportunity for interposing the good offices of Great Britain, with the weight which belongs to such interposition.” The speech by which this motion was enforced, excited a strong sensation of sympathy and indignation; and the reply of lord Castlereagh gave extreme offence to many in the house, and to multitudes out of it, as exhibiting a studied palliation of the enormities practised in Spain, blended with the most unjust and invidious reflections on the Spanish patriots. This motion proved not more successful than the former.

BOOK
XLII.1816.
Motion relative to
Spain.

A bill authorizing the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte, and enacting provisions for that purpose, passed both houses, accompanied by a protest bearing the signatures of lord Holland and the duke of Sussex, importing, “without reference to the character or previous conduct of the person who was the object of it, that to consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief,

Bill of
Pains and
Penalties
on Napoleon
Bonaparte.

BOOK
XLII.

1816.

who, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great nation." That the punishment inflicted on this "foreign chief" was a violation of the law of nations, could not be denied, even considering him in the light of a prisoner of war; for, whatever might be his *previous character or conduct*, he was not amenable to a British tribunal. But it may be pleaded, that the safety of the nation is the supreme law. No great nation, however, since the days of Hannibal, was ever disturbed by such terrific apprehensions from the enmity or talents of an individual, lately indeed formidable, but now abandoned by fortune, without friends, without resources, without a country.

Debate on
Army Estimates.

An interesting debate took place on the subject of the army estimates, brought forward by the secretary of war, lord Palmerston, who proposed for the ensuing year an establishment of 176,000 men, including the forces stationed in France; although it was impossible to name a period when less exposed to danger from any foreign power. In the speech of the regent, "the security of the country" was indeed not the only reason assigned for the establishment in contemplation. It was also "to be suitable to its station and high character among the European powers."

This was a perfectly new criterion. The character of the nation never stood higher in Europe than in the reigns of king William and queen Anne; yet the military peace establishment, after the treaties of Ryswic and Utrecht, never amounted to 20,000 men. But a great standing army, among other foreign predilections, had been the ruling passion of the German dynasty; and every reign had afforded new proofs of legislative complaisance. "The constitution of England," says the celebrated Blackstone, "knows of no fortresses, no barracks, no such thing as a regular soldiery established in the country."

On the 25th April, lord George Cavendish moved an address to the prince regent, stating "that the house could not but contemplate with constitutional jealousy the existence of so large a standing army, and enforcing the necessity of œconomy in every department of the state." The order of the day moved by lord Palmerston upon this question was carried by 158 to 102 voices. Another division, not flattering to ministers, took place May 7th, on the motion of lord Althorpe, for the appointment of a select committee to consider and report upon the reductions which could be made without injury to the public service. This was negatived by 169 to 126 voices.

BOOK
XLII.1816.
Property
Tax re-
pealed.

Notwithstanding the explicit declarations of Mr. Pitt and his successors, and even the solemn pledges contained in the successive acts of parliament, that the income or property-tax should be continued only during the war, and six months after the conclusion of it; and it was indeed the only resource, in case of future hostility, that could now be relied upon; Mr. Vansittart hesitated not to announce his intention of converting it into an annual tax; preparatory to which he had taken, as was now discovered, the precaution to omit the usual pledge in the act of the preceding year for its discontinuance. Though upon this occasion the whole force of government was exerted, the minister sustained a signal defeat; the numbers being 238 who voted for the repeal, and 201 against it. As if in chagrin at this disappointment, he immediately notified his intention of relinquishing the additional malt-tax, amounting to near 2,000,000*l.* In the course of this session, 35,600,000*l.* in exchequer-bills were funded; and 9,000,000 borrowed at a low interest from the Bank.

Marriage
of the Prin-
cess Char-
lotte.

In consequence of a message from the prince regent, announcing the marriage-contract of his daughter the princess Charlotte to prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, who had visited England in 1814, the annual sum of 60,000*l.*

was unanimously voted as a provision for the requisite establishment; the first payment to be made immediately: and in the event of the decease of the princess, a catastrophe at the present moment little contemplated, the annual sum of 50,000*l.* was continued to the prince during his life. The marriage took place on the 2d of May (1816). About the same time was married the duke of Gloucester, to the princess Mary, fourth daughter of the King

BOOK
XLII.
1816;

In the course of the session, lord King moved for a copy of any representation made by our ministers at Vienna, at Paris, or elsewhere, for the recovery of the loans advanced to Austria in 1795 and 1797, now amounting with the interest to the aggregate sum of 14,000,000*l.* This, the noble mover said, Austria was bound in honour and justice to pay; to which she was the more competent, as that power was now levying contributions on Naples. The earl of Liverpool stated, “that after the treaty of Campo Formio, application had been made to Austria, but it was found impossible to engage her again in the contest against France, if repayment was then exacted; and considering the *fairness* with which Austria had acted, and her subsequent misfortunes; that her capital had been twice entered,

Debate on
Austrian
Loans.

BOOK

XLII.

1816.

and her best provinces taken from her ; he had no difficulty in saying it would be unjust to demand it now."

Lord Holland said, " they had no proof that Austria was involved in greater financial difficulties than other countries. If she had been despoiled of her provinces, those provinces had been restored, with many additional ones. But the money *lent* by Great Britain, if indulgence was granted for a time, must, it seems, be lost for ever. It was too much to say to this country, you shall bear all the burdens of the war, and we will enjoy all the benefits of the peace." The motion was finally negatived without a division.

Motion on
the State of
Ireland.

On the 23d April, sir John Newport, at the close of a speech in which the miserable state of Ireland was strikingly displayed, moved an address to the prince regent, " praying for documents to explain the extent and nature of those evils which rendered it necessary to maintain there an army of 25,000 men in a period of profound peace." Though no enquiry could be more imperative upon the representatives of the United Kingdom, or which an unbiassed house of commons would have more anxiously entered into, it was opposed by Mr. secretary Peel and negatived after an animated debate.

The revived motion on the catholic question, though supported by lord Castlereagh in the house of commons, was negatived by 172 to 141 voices. In the upper house, the earl of Donoughmore (June 21) moved a resolution, pledging the house of peers “to take into consideration next session the disabilities which continued to press on his Majesty’s Roman catholic subjects in Ireland.” The noble mover stated and enforced his sentiments on this momentous question, with the liberality and comprehension of a truly patriotic statesman. The resolution met with an able supporter in the earl of Aberdeen, who professed himself “incapable of perceiving how danger to the state could arise, from converting the hostile spirit which pervaded a large mass of the population into a friendly one. However proud we might justly feel of our free constitution, it was impossible not to experience some degree of humiliation at the view of this strange anomaly, which excluded millions from the benefit of it.

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Relief of
the Catho-
lics.

Earl Stanhope and the duke of Sussex also distinguished themselves as advocates for the resolution, which was opposed by the lords Bathurst, Redesdale, and more particularly the lord chancellor, who censured it “as entirely contrary to the spirit of the constitution, which acknowledged the king as the head of

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the church; and he denied the authority of any foreign jurisdiction. Could he forget this, he should think he had broken his bond of allegiance. Should we pull down the bulwarks of our faith? Ought we to shake the pillars of our church, the safe-guards of our religion?"

In reply, the bishop of Norwich avowed his opinion "that the only way to secure permanently the existence of any establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, was to evince liberal and conciliatory conduct to those who differed from us; to lay its foundation in the affection and esteem of all within its influence, to bring all dissents of faith within the pale of charity. This was the true foundation of our church: with this, it was secure from every danger; without this, every other security was futile and fallacious." The decision of the house was not such as to discourage future applications; the contents being 69 against 73 peers, who voted against the resolution. On the 2d July (1816), parliament was prorogued, the prince regent expressing "his deep regret at the distresses which *the close of a long war* had entailed on many classes of his Majesty's subjects."*

* In the month of July, this year, died two persons eminent for their talents and patriotism; the bishop of Llandaff and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.

These distresses were, indeed, of such a nature as to be no longer capable of concealment or palliation. But the language of ministers was, that they were caused by the sudden transition from war to peace, as if this transition had been more sudden than usual. The causes were but too obvious : an annual taxation of 60,000,000, and the loss in an alarming proportion of the foreign market ; particularly that of America, which, in consequence of the disastrous orders in council, had been *compelled* to set up manufactures of their own ; and these they would not now relinquish. The European sovereigns, likewise, having found the possibility of dispensing with British manufactures, were eager to encourage the spirit of commercial enterprize in their respective dominions. Thus the vast and unprecedented expenditure caused by the war being at once withdrawn, and not compensated as formerly by the golden reflux of prosperity in peace, the envy and admiration of the surrounding nations at the felicity of Britain were changed into unavailing commiseration.

Relief from the pressure of these accumulated evils was sought in very different modes. The petitions to parliament, which had been presented from almost every part of the kingdom, only served to shew how little sympathy

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Popular
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existed between the national representatives and their constituents; nothing of consequence being effected by way of reduction of expenditure, or of taxes; the repeal of the odious property tax excepted, which, though carried in opposition to the court, no one ascribed to motives of pure patriotism. But if to seek redress by petitioning was futile, for the sufferers to take the remedy into their own hands was both mischievous and criminal. This, however, was the natural progress of popular discontent: and in both the agricultural and manufacturing districts, particularly in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Staffordshire, and South Wales, very serious disorders arose, which were not quelled without calling in the aid of the military; a practice by no means novel: but in the numerous meetings held for petitioning, a new and striking characteristic of the times appeared.

Rise of
Radical-
ism.

Since the publication of the famous and pernicious pamphlet of Paine, "Rights of Man," provoked by and written in answer to the still more famous and pernicious "Reflections" of Burke, a new description of reformists had sprung up among the lower classes of society, holding principles subversive of the constitution: and, for the last half century, much more pains having been taken by the

higher orders of the community to add to the knowledge than to the comfort and happiness of their inferiors, the alarming phenomenon was exhibited in almost all the popular meetings, of persons in the garb of poverty, who, in fluent and impressive language, could point out the various errors civil and political which during the present reign had produced the fatal change visible to all. They enlarged upon the wild and wanton waste originating in perpetual wars, in pensions, sinecures, and extravagances of every kind pervading the administration of government ; but above all, upon that corrupt dependence of the representatives of the people upon the executive power, which had destroyed the balance of the constitution, and superinduced a state of things in which the will of the sovereign was every thing, and that of the people nothing. The utter hopelessness of any effectual remedy under these circumstances being manifest, the popular orators, as a corollary from these principles, urged that a radical reform in the representation, including universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot, was essential to the salvation of the country.

This sect of reformers, who had at different times been stiled Painites, democrats, jacobins, &c. now received the designation of

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radicals. The danger arising from the prevalence of these principles proved a very serious obstacle in the way of rational and constitutional reform: for many truly respectable persons thought it requisite to strengthen the hands of government, when assailed from a quarter so desperate, who were far from approving the general system of administration; and the number of those were continually increasing, who thought that some reform in the representation adequate to the acknowledged evil, a reform which would diminish the unconstitutional influence of the crown, while it increased the constitutional influence of the people, was a measure just, wise, and necessary.

Expedition
against Algiers.

A naval expedition was this year undertaken against the piratical state of Algiers. Early in the spring, lord Exmouth, who commanded in the Mediterranean, received instructions to negotiate with the Barbary powers for the abolition of Christian slavery, to which Tunis and Tripoli assented; but the dey of Algiers pretended to refer the question to the grand seignor. In the mean time he continued his outrages, and a horrid massacre took place of the Christians engaged in the coral fishery at Cape Bona. Being joined by a Dutch squa-

dron at Gibraltar, lord Exmouth on the 27th of August again anchored in the bay of Algiers. The dey was by this time well prepared for defence; and the message sent by a flag of truce being disregarded, an obstinate and bloody action ensued, affording a new field for British heroism; nor was the courage displayed by the Dutch inferior. The firing on both sides from three in the afternoon till evening was tremendous. Eight hundred lives were lost by the assailants, but the result was decisive. The Algerine batteries, with their ships, arsenal, and magazines, were destroyed, and vast numbers of their men were killed or wounded. The submission of the dey was complete. He agreed to the abolition for ever of Christian slavery, and likewise to the release of all Christian slaves in his dominions; restoring the money received by him for the redemption of slaves captured since the beginning of the year. The captives thus rescued were conveyed to their own shores; chiefly those of Naples and Genoa; and the redemption money, amounting to near 400,000 dollars, was paid to the courts of Turin and Naples for the respective claimants. Thus a splendid service was rendered to Christendom.

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State of
France.

In France, things continued in a state of great irritation. The revolt of last year was so general, that almost the whole nation might have been included in the same indictment. Humanity and policy, therefore, would have hastened to cast a veil over the past, by an act of pardon and oblivion: but the revenge of the court was continually employed in selecting new victims. Of these, count Lavalette, who had accepted the office of director of the posts, one of necessity under any government, was destined to capital punishment. Happily, he effected his escape by the aid of certain English gentlemen then at Paris, of whom sir Robert Wilson, distinguished for his gallantry in Egypt and Portugal, was one. For this offence they were sentenced to three months imprisonment; and sir Robert, on his return to England, received a severe reprimand issued in general orders: but the generosity of the act was loudly applauded both in France and England. The marriage of the duke of Berri to a daughter of the king of Naples, was a source of satisfaction at this period to the court of Versailles.

State of
Spain.

In Spain a royal edict was issued for restoring to the Jesuits “all their houses, colleges, funds, and revenues, as well in the Indies as in Europe; they conforming themselves to the

constitutions of their order, as established by their holy founder, under the sanction of the pope. The queen of Portugal dying March 1816, the prince regent assumed the regal appellation of Don Juan VI. In September, Ferdinand VII. and his brother Don Carlos espoused Isabella and Maria, princesses of Portugal. The civil wars in South America still continued with alternations of success, but with no prospect of reducing the revolted colonies.

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The emperor of Austria, having recently lost his consort, chose for her successor a princess of the house of Bavaria. On the opening of the diet at Frankfort a declaration was made by the imperial representative, "that the emperor claimed no authority in virtue of his presidency; being merely the conductor of its proceedings." As to Prussia, though the monarch in the hour of distress had solemnly engaged to confer upon his people a representative constitution, he had shewn, on the return of prosperity, no disposition to redeem his pledge; and much dissatisfaction prevailed throughout his dominions, as likewise in Wirtemberg, from the same cause. But the king of Wirtemberg died, unlamented, October 30th (1816), and was succeeded by his son, of whom better hopes were conceived.

State of
Germany.

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State of
Great Bri-
tain.

In England, the embarrassments of the commercial and agricultural interests had arisen in the course of this year to an alarming height; and distress and discontent seemed to pervade the mass of the people, breaking out at times into acts of tumult and outrage. On the 2d of December a meeting was convened in Spa-fields, at which many thousands of the populace attended, to take into consideration the state of the country. Such meetings can never be wholly free from danger; and upon this occasion, after various inflammatory harangues, a band of desperadoes, who appeared on the ground with a tri-coloured flag and other banners, headed by a young man named Watson, began their march toward the city; and stopping at Snow-hill, attempted to procure arms by plundering the shop of a gunsmith; Watson firing a pistol at, and wounding a person who remonstrated against this atrocious procedure. The vigorous conduct of the city magistrates, aided by the military, put however a speedy stop to the mischief. Many were apprehended, and two suffered capital punishment; though Watson himself, for whom a great reward was offered, after long concealment, effected his escape into America.

Though the hands of government were sensibly strengthened by the spirit of violence manifested on this and other occasions, innumerable petitions were presented to the prince regent toward the close of the year, stating the distresses and grievances of the nation, and imploring such relief and redress as the power and wisdom of government could afford. By far the most remarkable of these was the petition addressed to him personally and in the accustomed forms at Carlton house (December 9th), by the corporation of London; which had during the last thirty years almost uniformly supported the measures of the court, with little apprehension of consequences. But the delusion had vanished, as at the dissolving of a spell; and the citizens of London found, in common with the rest of the kingdom, that the national glory so dearly purchased, was but the splendid precursor of national misery; and that in the body-politic, no less than that of the individual, an unnatural state of over-exertion must terminate in exhaustion and debility.

“We forbear,” say these petitioners, “to enter into details of the afflicting scenes of privation and suffering that every where exist. We beg to impress upon your royal highness that our present complicated evils have not

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arisen from a mere transition from war to peace, nor from any sudden or accidental causes; neither can they be removed by any partial or temporary expedients. Our grievances are the natural effects of rash and ruinous wars, unjustly commenced, and pertinaciously persisted in; of immense subsidies to foreign powers; of an unconstitutional and unprecedented military force; of the unexampled and increasing magnitude of the civil list; of a long course of lavish and improvident expenditure; all arising from the corrupt and inadequate state of the representation of the people in parliament; whereby all constitutional control over the servants of the crown has been lost. We humbly submit to your royal highness that nothing but a reformation of these abuses, and restoring to the people their just and constitutional right in the election of members of parliament, can afford a security against their recurrence; calm the apprehensions of the people; allay their irritated feelings, and prevent those misfortunes in which the nation must inevitably be involved by an obstinate and infatuated adherence to the present system of corruption and extravagance."

The prince regent expressed, in reply, "his strong feelings of *surprise* and regret at this

address and petition; and the *consolation* he derived from the persuasion, that the great body of his Majesty's subjects, notwithstanding the various attempts which have been made to irritate, and mislead them, are well convinced that the severe trials which they sustain with such exemplary patience and fortitude, are chiefly to be attributed to *unavoidable causes*;"—and his royal highness concluded by deprecating "those proceedings, which, from whatever motive they may originate, were calculated to render temporary difficulties, the means of producing permanent and irreparable calamity."

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The session of parliament was opened January 28th, 1817, by the regent in person. The speech stated the anxious desire of government to make every reduction which the safety of the empire, *and true policy*, would allow. The deficiency in the revenue was acknowledged, but ascribed to temporary causes. Continued assurances of amity from foreign powers were mentioned. But the most remarkable passages of this speech are those which follow, as forming a complete contrast to the melancholy picture of the state of the country, drawn in the late petitions. "I am too well convinced," said the prince, "of the loyalty and good sense of the great body of his

Session of
Parliament,
January
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Majesty's subjects, to believe them capable of being perverted by the arts which are employed to seduce them : but I am determined to omit no precautions for preserving the public peace, and for counteracting the designs of the disaffected ; and I rely with the utmost confidence on your cordial support, and co-operation, in upholding a system of law and government, from which we have derived inestimable advantages ; which has enabled us to conclude with unexampled glory, a contest whereon depended the best interests of mankind ; and which has been hitherto felt by ourselves, as it is acknowledged by other nations, to be the most perfect that has fallen to the lot of any people." But to the aberrations from this *perfect system*, commencing at an early period of the present reign, and *pertinaciously persisted in*, and not to the system itself, were the present evils ascribed.

Riot in the
Park.

On the return of the prince regent from the house of peers, an immense crowd had assembled in the park, by whom he was received with every demonstration of popular resentment ; and on passing Carlton house, the glass of the carriage was broken by a stone, and it was not without some difficulty that he at length reached the palace. This flagrant outrage being on the same day reported by lord

Sidmouth to parliament, the two houses joined in an address suitable to the occasion; and 1000*l.* reward was offered in vain for the discovery of the offender.

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On the address brought forward as usual in reply to the speech of the regent, earl Grey moved an amendment, importing an opinion “that the pressure on the resources of the country was much more extensive in its operation, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult of removal, than had ever been before experienced; and that the house would immediately enter upon an enquiry into the state of the nation.”

Amend-
ment to the
Address.

Marquis Wellesley affirmed “that the distress of the country had grown to a magnitude which no art or colour of language could disguise; that a speech so inadequate to the exigencies of the times, he had never heard.” The amendment was negatived without a division, and a similar motion, by Mr. Pensonby, in the commons, by a majority of 264 to 112 voices.

On the 3d February, a message was sent to both houses, announcing the communication of papers containing information of certain combinations in the metropolis and elsewhere, calculated to endanger the public tranquillity,

Privy Con-
spiracies.

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and to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, &c." The papers being referred by both houses to secret committees, namely eleven peers, and twenty commoners; the duke of Bedford and the lords Fitzwilliam and Grenville of the former, and Mr. Ponsonby, sir Arthur Pigot, Mr. Wilberforce, &c. of the latter; reports were after due consideration presented, containing very extraordinary statements.

Spencean
Societies.

Among these, the most remarkable affirmed the existence of numerous societies distinguished by the title of "Spencean;" who maintained that parliamentary reform must be held out as the ostensible object, but that in fact the people ought to look to nothing short of the possession of the land: they denied that the country had any constitution; and they asserted that the public grievances originated with the landholders, and those still greater wretches the fundholders. The same report declared, that "in these societies, sedition and profaneness went hand in hand. And it was their avowed intent to employ the physical strength of the people to overpower the constitutional authorities. That a general insurrection was planned for the 2d of December, when the metropolis was to have been fired, and possession taken of the Tower, the

barracks at Knightsbridge, and the Bank. And notwithstanding the failure of the design at that time, the determination to execute it at a future period seemed then and seems still to be very generally entertained!" All this was the more alarming, as scarcely any one had ever before heard of the sect of the "Spenceans," whose tenets, as the report of the commons itself states, "were principally drawn from the works of a visionary author published above twenty years ago." And with respect to the insurrection of the 2d December, nothing could have more the appearance of a sudden ebullition of the multitude, destitute not only of deep or concerted design, but of any trace of common sense.

But though the government was probably in part deceived by the exaggerated accounts of their spies, dangerous combinations unquestionably existed, which called for vigorous counteraction. Yet, under these circumstances, caution was necessary not to give greater powers than the occasion required; and especially not to enact laws for perpetuity upon the spur of a particular exigency, tending to increase the permanent authority of the crown at the expense of the antient rights and privileges of the people.

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Measures
of counter-
action.
Habeas
corpus act
suspended.

The first result of the reports was a motion by lord Sidmouth for the suspension of the habeas corpus act until the 1st of July ensuing, which was carried through both houses by great majorities, though accompanied by a protest signed by eighteen peers, who thought “that no such case of imminent and pressing danger had been stated as might not be sufficiently provided against by the executive government under the existing laws.” In the house of commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, the act of 1795, for the security of his Majesty’s person, was, by no very flattering compliment, extended to the prince regent. Also the provisions formerly made for the suppression of tumultuous meetings and debating societies, for the prevention of secret oaths and organizations, were incorporated into one act; and a bill passed for punishing with rigour any attempt to withdraw soldiers or sailors from their allegiance. All these measures, after undergoing much discussion, received the sanction of the legislature.

Reductions
of Expen-
diture.

A select committee, on the suggestion of the same nobleman, was appointed to enquire into the state expenditure, on whose report various sinecure or superfluous offices were abolished; but these were amply compensated to the government by a bill called the civil services

compensation bill, empowering the crown to grant pensions on dismissal from office, according to the duration of service.

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On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, a bill was introduced and passed, to enable his Majesty's government to issue exchequer bills to the amount of 500,000*l.* to commissioners, to be by them applied in the construction of public works, in the encouragement of the British fisheries, or advanced for the employment of the poor in different parishes, *on due security for repayment*. This feeble and abortive attempt formed a striking contrast to the countless millions voted to the continental sovereigns, without any security for the repayment even of those sums which had been professedly advanced on loan.

Issue of
Exchequer
bills.

The annual motion of Mr. Grattan, in favour of the catholics, came under discussion on the 9th of May, when he once more urged the house to resolve itself into a committee, with a view to the final and conciliatory adjustment of this great question. Mr. Grattan took upon him, on this occasion, to affirm "that the catholics were now ready to concede the *veto*, domestic nomination, or whatever else had been deemed necessary to the security of the protestant establishment." Upon what authority this was said did not appear, nor was

Catholic
Relief
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there any indication of a disposition on the part of the petitioners to relinquish the least of their spiritual privileges, as the purchase of what they conceived to be their civil rights as true and loyal subjects.

Mr. Elliot, who had filled the office of secretary for Ireland, under the duke of Bedford, observed “ that two centuries of experience had shewn the inefficiency of the penal laws to repress the spirit or numbers of the catholics. They were not shaken in their faith, they were only rendered worse subjects. In the anxiety which prevailed to support the protestant ascendancy, they would, in effect, create an aristocracy destitute of all constitutional authority.”

Lord Castlereagh, the firm and invariable friend of the catholics, whether in or out of power, expressed his conviction that nothing could be done towards tranquillizing Ireland, till the catholics were restored to their rights ; till they were admitted as good subjects, to fight the battles of the constitution at home, as they had fought those of the country abroad. He felt it his duty to make an earnest and solemn appeal in their favour ; conjuring the house to put an end to those afflicting dissensions which were constantly agitating the other country. Mr. Canning, who had to-

ward the close of the last session accepted the place of first commissioner for the affairs of India, supported this truly just and necessary measure with his usual ability. It was also zealously advocated by sir J. Hippisley Coxe, though unfortunately entangled in the mazes of the *Veto*.

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The chief opponent of the motion on this occasion was Mr. Peel, member for Oxford university, a young man of rising reputation in the house; possessing talents, candour, and eloquence. He was, however, believed to be strongly attached to what was called the ultra party in the cabinet. This gentleman declared himself "adverse to the committee; and he sincerely hoped that the house would weigh the practical advantages of the government as it stood, against the visionary and theoretical benefits expected from that which was to be." On the division, at a late hour, the numbers were 221 for and 245 against the motion; the corresponding motion of lord Donoughmore in the upper house, being opposed by the minister lord Liverpool with his whole strength, was lost by 142 to 90 peers.

On the 12th of May an interesting discussion took place in the upper house, respecting a *circular*, addressed by lord Sidmouth to the lords lieutenants of counties throughout Eng-

Circular
of Lord
Sidmouth.

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land and Wales; in which this nobleman stated, “that as it was of the greatest importance to prevent, if possible, the circulation of the blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings, now distributed in great numbers through the country, he had thought it his duty to consult the law-officers of the crown, whether a person found selling or in any other way publishing such writings, might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace by warrant, to answer for his conduct. That the law officers, after consideration, had notified to him their opinion, that a justice of the peace might issue his warrant for the apprehension of a person charged before him on oath with the publication of such libels, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. The secretary of state, under these circumstances, called the attention of the lords lieutenants to the subject, and requested that they would notify such opinion to the chairmen at the quarter session, in order that magistrates might act upon it.”

This letter, with the extraordinary opinion of the crown lawyers, Garrow and Shepherd, annexed to it, caused a great sensation throughout the kingdom. It was indeed admitted by all, that a magistrate has the power of holding to bail any person selling blasphemous or

sedition publications ; but they must be such as the *law* has pronounced seditious, or blasphemous ; not such as every ignorant zealot in the commission of the peace may think, or fancy to be so. This would indeed be establishing a censorship of the press of the most odious and alarming description. “ The writers upon bail,” says a great law authority, “ never mention sureties for the behaviour in any case of a libel, or constructive breach of the peace. It is a doctrine injurious to the freedom of every subject, and derogatory to the *old* constitution.”

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Dunning's
Letter con-
cerning
libel.

Earl Grey, in moving “ that the case submitted to the crown lawyers should be laid before the house,” indignantly reprobated the principle, that a justice of peace might be called upon by any common informer to decide what was, or what was not a libel ; and to commit or hold to bail upon his sole judgment. He declared it to be a most dangerous extension of the official duties of a minister of the crown, to interfere with the conduct or discretion of the magistracy : and, above all, in a case where the security of the subject and the liberty of the press, were so deeply affected. The noble earl then went into a luminous display of legal knowledge on this momentous subject ; in the course of which he

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adduced the authorities of the chief justices Hale, Holt, and Camden, to shew that a justice of peace has no power to commit for libel.

The present chief justice Ellenborough, nevertheless, was of opinion that justices of the peace can arrest and hold to bail in cases of libel, citing as authorities in opposition to the great names on the other side, some obscure and forgotten precedents of the crown officers of former days. Lord Erskine asked, “if this were law, why it happened, that on the breaking out of the French revolution, when the country was inundated with seditious libels, in no one instance was such practice adopted? And he absolutely denied the legality of it.” Lord Holland said “that the opinion of lord Camden, given judicially from the bench, was, he conceived, of greater weight than the practice of all the attorneys-general who had ever lived. Ship-money and general warrants had been justified by attorneys-general; and it would be difficult to discover one practice, however pernicious in itself, or inconsistent with the liberties of the country, that had not been defended by the law officers of the crown.”

The motion for the production of the case was negatived by a great majority; but an impression was made on the public mind

which no majority could efface ; and this was almost universally regarded as one of the boldest attempts which had been made since the Hanover accession, to circumscribe the rights and privileges enjoyed by the people of England, under the *old* constitution. The same question was subsequently brought forward by sir Samuel Romilly, and enforced with his accustomed ability ; but the resolutions moved by him were overruled by a great but very unpopular majority.

On the 20th May, sir Francis Burdett once more moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire into and report the present state of the representation. “ Petitions,” he observed, “ had now been presented from all parts for parliamentary reform : some of them had been stiled wild and visionary, as they asked for annual parliaments ; but it was incontrovertible that annual parliaments were the antient law and practice of this country. Under the present system of corruption, liberty could not long exist. They had been told that the constitution was a glorious one ; it was so in the *books*, in *Montesquieu*, but, practically speaking, the system was productive of oppression and wretchedness. He exhorted gentlemen to take counsel from their wisdom, not from their fears ; and he hoped that the

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people would not cease to demand their rights." Sir John Nichol thought "that the agitation of the question at this time might be attended with serious consequences; and though no human institution could be perfect, he was unable to perceive any essential defect in the present state of the representation."

Lord Cochrane, the colleague of sir Francis Burdett, in remarking upon an expression of the last speaker, respecting the balance of parties in the house, said there was another balance in which the whole weight of that house was on one side, and that of the public on the other. If the present system was not purified by reform, we might make a Germanized military figure; but the ambition of converting this country into a great military nation was futile and impossible.

Sir Samuel Romilly did not profess himself an advocate for universal suffrage, or annual parliaments; but he was deeply impressed with the conviction, that reform was indispensable; and though most of the petitions might go too far, that was no reason for refusing enquiry altogether. After a lengthened debate, the motion was negatived by 265 to 77 voices.

A message from the prince regent, June 3d, announced the continuance of the dangerous combinations which had already engaged the attention of parliament. Committees of secrecy were again appointed; whose reports stated, "that the time was not yet arrived when the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty's subjects could be allowed to rest upon the ordinary powers of the law." The secret committee of the lords made, nevertheless, the remarkable acknowledgment "that the evidence laid before the committee had been principally derived from the depositions and communications of persons who were either themselves more or less implicated in these criminal transactions, or who had apparently engaged in them with a view of giving information to government; that the evidence of both these classes of persons must be regarded with a degree of suspicion; and that there was reason to apprehend that the language and conduct of some of the latter might, in certain instances, have had the effect of encouraging designs which it was intended that they should only be the instruments of detecting." After a warm discussion, an act passed, by great majorities, for continuing till March 1st, 1818, the suspension of the habeas corpus act.

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Suspension
of the Ha-
beas Cor-
pus Act
continued.

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Address on
the Slave
Trade.

On the 9th of July Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the house of commons to the slave-trade, which was carried on without molestation by the subjects of France, Spain, and, above all, Portugal, which had extended its traffic along the whole coast of Africa : so that the accession of these powers to the eventual abolition was a mere dead letter : and he moved an address to the prince regent, praying “ that he would be pleased to pursue with unremitting activity, the negotiations into which he had already entered on this important subject.” Lord Castlereagh suggested the danger of interfering with pendent negotiations ; but the house discovering no symptoms of alarm on that head, he acquiesced in the motion, which passed unanimously.

Mr. Man-
ners Sutton
chosen
Speaker.

Toward the close of the session, Mr. Abbot, who had held the office of speaker in five successive parliaments, with distinguished reputation, notified his intention of resigning, on account of indisposition ; and was soon afterwards called to the house of lords, by the title of lord Colchester ; an annuity of 4000*l.* being moreover granted to him for his meritorious services. The right honourable Charles Manners Sutton was elected in his place ; and the parliament was prorogued in person by the

regent, in a speech of high approbation, on the 12th of July, 1817.

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1817.

Lord Amherst's embassy to China.

In the month of August arrived at Portsmouth, from his embassy to China, lord Amherst, who had left England in February 1816. In the following July the embassy had arrived off the Chinese coast, and proceeded up the Yellow Sea. Whatever advantage might be expected from this expensive equipment, of which the prospect, after the total failure of the former embassy by lord Macartney, must have been very faint, was entirely frustrated by the refusal of lord Amherst to submit to the degrading ceremonial of prostration now required by the court of Peking, though dispensed with in the person of his predecessor. The emperor, however, in "his imperial mandate to the king of England," for such was the language of the court of Peking, expressed his satisfaction "at the disposition of profound respect and due obedience which were visible in sending this embassy."—"I therefore," says he, "thought proper to take from the articles of tribute a few maps, with some prints and portraits. In return, I ordered to be given to you, O king, a *Jouée*, a string of imperial beads, two large silk purses, and eight small ones, as a proof of our tender and indulgent

Translation
by Sir
George
Stanton.

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conduct. Your country is too remote from the central and flourishing empire. Besides, your ambassador, it would seem, does not know how to practise the rites and ceremonies of the central empire. There will be no occasion hereafter for you to send an ambassador from so great a distance, and to give him the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing the ocean. If you do but pour out the heart in dutiful obedience, it is by no means necessary, at any stated time, to come to the celestial presence."

Corean
Archipelago.

After this lofty rebuke, it may well be supposed that a third embassy to China will not speedily take place. The ships *Alceste* and *Lyra*, employed in this service, embraced the opportunity of making a more accurate survey of the Yellow Sea and the coast of Corea than had hitherto been done, and discovered an archipelago, exhibiting a beautiful cluster of islands, inhabited by an hospitable race of people, who lived in happy ignorance of an European world.

Transac-
tions in
India.

On reverting to the last ten years, the affairs of India seem to have been studiously enveloped in mystery by the British government, who had long since engrossed both the power and the patronage of Hindostan. It was ap-

parent, however, that the antient system, the errors and defects of which formed the pretext for transferring the authority of the court of directors to the board of control, continued in full force. The debts and the dominions of the honourable company still increased in constant and rapid progression. This difference only was observable; that the dispatches of the directors, in their general tenor, evinced an extreme aversion to this procedure, and a perfect conviction of its ruinous tendency, while, at the same time, their inability to rectify it was unhappily apparent. But the rejection on the part of the Indian board of the famous proposed dispatch of April 1805, addressed to the marquis Wellesley by the directors, with the honours and rewards conferred upon that nobleman, plainly demonstrated that the system of war and conquest was that which government itself approved; and in Indian transactions the public no longer took any interest.

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During the last session of parliament, however, the subject forced itself into notice by the accounts recently received of the triumphs of the present governor-general, who, like most of his predecessors in office, for a series of eighty years past, a period of delusive splendour

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War of
Nepaul.

and transcendent folly, had been engaged in almost ceaseless warfare.

Toward the close of 1814 the British arms had been directed against the country of Nepaul, which lies to the north-east of the provinces of Oude and Bahar, extending to the kingdom of Thibet, which divides it from China. The mountainous frontier of Nepaul was defended by a hardy and warlike people, called Goorkahs, who were said to have encroached upon the British dominions; and a formidable army of 30,000 men, under general Ochterlony, entered the country to avenge this wrong. A bloody war ensued, which, as usual, terminated, December 1815, in a cession of territory to the honourable company. About the same time, the king of Ceylon, *a cruel tyrant*, was dethroned, and the whole island reduced under the power of Britain. After a short interval hostilities were resumed against Nepaul, in consequence of the refusal of the chief rajah to ratify the articles of the treaty already signed; and in February 1816, a decisive victory was gained over the Nepaulese. The treaty was then fully acceded to, and in all points duly executed.

War with
the Pin-
darees.

On the western side of the peninsula a war broke out with the Pindarees, who made an irruption into the Guntoor circar, where they

committed dreadful ravages. They were at length driven beyond the Nerbudda; but this war afterwards extended itself to all the Mah-ratta native princes. For the vigorous exertions and brilliant successes obtained over the Nepaulese, Goorkahs, and Pindarees, enemies never before heard of, the thanks of parliament were voted to the governor-general, and the officers and soldiers under his orders. The earl of Moira was raised to the dignity of marquis of Hastings, and general Ochterlony created a baronet, receiving also *the grand cross* of the order of the Bath; for this order had now been converted into a mere military institution, in imitation of those on the Continent, consisting of the several classes of grand crosses, knights commanders, and knights companions.

Notwithstanding the late coercive measures, the tranquillity of the kingdom was far from being restored. In the month of June, James Watson senior, father of the delinquent who had absconded, was arraigned of high treason, with three of his associates, Thistlewood, Preston, and Hooper, before lord Ellenborough at Westminster. Watson, whose trial came on first, was defended with great ability by his counsel, Copley and Wetherell, who demonstrated, as had formerly been done in

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Trials for
High
Treason.

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the case of Hardy, the injustice and danger of confounding the crimes of sedition and treason, and the unconstitutional nature of constructive evidence. After a trial which lasted seven days, Watson was acquitted; and the attorney general Shepherd declined farther proceedings. Castles, the chief witness on the part of the prosecution, being proved to be a spy of government, and very profligate in his general character, was not by the jury thought worthy of credit.

Acts of tumult and outrage prevailed, particularly in the northern counties; and at Derby bills of indictment were found against forty-six persons for high-treason. In the month of October a special commission was appointed to try the delinquents. Upon the whole, great lenity was shown to these misguided people, and three only were destined to capital punishment. One Oliver, an informer of the same class with Castles, was charged on the strongest grounds with being very active in *inciting* sedition and treason, with the view of being rewarded for the discovery.

Death of
Princess
Charlotte.

The 6th of November this year, was rendered fatally memorable by the sudden and melancholy demise of the princess Charlotte, presumptive heiress of the crown, immediately

after the birth of a still-born infant. On this event, all distinction of party seemed to be absorbed in one common emotion of grief. Her virtues, her accomplishments, her principles, her prudence and discretion in a situation of peculiar difficulty, were fully appreciated; and the hope, enthusiastically cherished, of future felicity under her government, had no parallel since the days of Elizabeth, whose name she had often on her lips, and whom in all that was great and excellent she was ambitious to resemble. Thus untimely faded "the expectancy and rose of the fair state." In every court and every country throughout Christendom, and even in the distant regions of Asia and America, her death caused an unfeigned sensation of sorrow. She was interred with royal honours at Windsor, prince Leopold, her inconsolable consort, sustaining in person the afflicting office of chief mourner.

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1817.

Toward the close of the year, a prosecution little important in itself, excited uncommon interest from the unprecedented violence with which it was urged by the crown lawyers. A criminal information was filed by the attorney-general (December 18th) against the defendant William Hone, for a profane libel upon the Church-catechism, the Apostles' creed, the

Prosecu-
tion of
Hone.

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Lord's prayer, and the Ten Commandments.

The profaneness consisted in adapting the phraseology of those venerable, though far from equally sacred symbols, to political purposes. This practice, however reprehensible, was by no means an uncommon indecorum. The essence of the charge was, "that the defendant Hone, *meaning* to ridicule, scandalize, and bring into contempt, certain parts of the service of the church, did publish," &c. This was indubitably and notoriously false. The publication, in fact, contained a poignant satire upon ministers, and its sole object was to bring *them* into contempt.

Hone conducted his own defence with wonderful ability and presence of mind ; proving, by numerous examples, that parodies, far from implying reflection or scandal on the original, had generally been taken from the most admired passages of the most celebrated productions,—as the soliloquy of Hamlet, the speech of Norval, and, in a remarkable instance, the noble morning hymn of Milton, by Mr. Canning, whom no one could suspect of insensibility to its beauties, in a political publication stiled the Anti-jacobin. The cause was tried before Mr. justice Abbot and a special jury ; and though the judge in his charge gave an opinion against the defendant, he re-

minded the jury that they were to be guided by their own judgment, not by his. In a very short time a verdict of acquittal was returned, producing an involuntary burst of acclamation in the court.

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1817.

As if to demonstrate the invidious nature of the prosecution, it was on the following day resumed in a second information from the attorney-general before the chief justice Ellenborough, and a special jury, for publishing a profane libel on the Litany. A defence not less able than the former, and which lasted several hours, was made by the defendant. The chief justice, in charging the jury, urged upon them the importance of the case, and of their decision, to the cause of religion, and the vital interests of the country; and he pronounced the publication in question to be a most impious libel. The jury, notwithstanding, after an absence of two hours, returned a second verdict of acquittal; and the hall a second time rang with acclamation.

Second
Prosecu-
tion of
Hone.

Exhausted and worn down by the length and anxiety of the former trials, the defendant was on the very next day called upon to abide the issue of a third information before the same judge, and another special jury, for a profane libel on what is stiled the creed of St. Athanasius; though well known to be a sym-

Third Pro-
secution
of Hone.

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1817.

bol of faith framed in the darkest ages ; the attempt to raise the sanctity of this presumptuous dogma, to a par with the scriptural parts of the liturgy, was so gross, that scarcely could a chance of conviction remain. The parody was stiled the Sinecurists' creed ; during the reading of which incessant laughter pervaded the court. The defendant again exerted himself with unabated animation. In excuse for his not employing counsel, he declared, " that no counsel was endowed with sufficient courage to withstand lord Ellenborough." After a trial of many hours, the chief justice once more charged the jury in vehement language against the defendant, but without effect ; for the jurors without the least hesitation returned a verdict of not guilty ! and the hall of justice a third time resounded with shouts of applause, not known on any occasion since the acquittal of Hardy. In acknowledgment of the courage and eloquence displayed by Hone, he was rewarded by a liberal contribution on the part of the public.

State of
France.

In France, so far as the power or influence of the king extended, matters were reverting fast to their former state. A new Concordate was made with the pope, re-establishing the antient superstitions. Seven new archbishopricks, and twenty-five new bishopricks were

erected. A law was enacted for restraining the liberty of the press : on the other hand, a royal edict, little regarded, was at length promulgated for the abolition of the slave-trade ; to commence north of the line, from the end of the present year, and south of the line, from the 30th May, 1820.

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1817.

Spain remained in a state of sullen and indignant submission to one of the most odious monarchs who ever swayed a sceptre. Insurrections broke out at Valencia and Barcelona, but were soon suppressed by the military. Ferdinand signalized his religious zeal by an edict, prohibiting all publications which impugned the authority of the Roman pontiff and the holy tribunal of the inquisition ; or which contained principles subversive of monarchical government. In South America, the patriots made great progress, and a new government was organized in the great province of Chili. Portugal still continued in an unquiet state, under the administration of a regency. In Sicily, the representative system, established under the sanction of the British government, was totally abolished by the king.

Germany had been recently much agitated by the efforts made in the Prussian and other states, to obtain representative governments. The constitution offered by the king of Wir-

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1817.

temberg to his people was rejected as inadequate to their wants and wishes; and the assembly of the states was in consequence dissolved. The court of Saxe Weimar had been long distinguished as one of the most polished and enlightened in Germany; and the reigning duke not only granted to the inhabitants of the duchy a free constitution, but made a voluntary proposal to the diet at Frankfort, that this constitution should be placed under the guarantee of the Germanic confederation. In this, the assent of Austria the presiding state being given, all the other votes concurred. Also, by the influence of Spain, the reversion of Parma and Placentia was settled by the emperor Francis on the Infant Don Carlos Louis, son of the queen of Etruria, and nephew of Ferdinand VII.

Nether-
lands.

The government of the Netherlands, in adopting the measure of abolishing the antient monopoly of the India company, and throwing open the commerce of the East, acquired great popularity. In the United States of America, Mr. Maddison was succeeded in the high office of president by Mr. Monroe, than whom a happier choice could not have been made. A picture of national prosperity, exhibiting a striking contrast to the difficulties and distresses of England, was presented in the

America.
Mr. Monro
President.

message to congress, on the 2d of December (1817), from which it appeared, that after all the expenses of the military and naval establishments were defrayed, together with the interest of the public debt, a large surplus from the revenue remained towards its eventual extinction; exclusive of the produce of the internal taxes, of which he therefore recommended the abolition; a proposition which was received with the applause and gratitude which it merited.

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1817.

The session of parliament commenced on the 28th January (1818), with a speech which was delivered by commission. After advert-
to the death of the princess Charlotte, and the consolation which his royal highness had received under this afflictive stroke, from the sympathy of the people, it was added that "amidst his own sufferings he had not been unmindful of the effect which this sad event must have on the interests and future prospects of the country." This was understood as an intimation of the royal marriages, already in contemplation. The addresses passed through both houses with no memorable opposition.

1818.
Session of
Parliament,
Jan. 28.

One of the first measures instituted by ministers was a bill introduced by lord Sidmouth for repealing the habeas corpus suspension act; the state of the country being now acknow-

Repeal of
the Sus-
pension of
the Habeas
Corpus
Act.

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1818.

ledged to be tranquil, and affirmed to be prosperous. In assenting to this repeal, lord Holland recommended “an enquiry into the grounds of the act itself; respecting which, the evidence hitherto adduced had been very imperfect. And advertng to the late extraordinary prosecution against Hone, he declared it to be so notoriously political, that it was impossible for the country not to despise the hypocritical pretences under which it had been brought forward.”

Indemnity
Act.

Secret committees having been once more appointed to examine the cases of the persons detained under the suspension, it was *reported*, “that the ministers, in exercising the powers vested in them, had acted with due discretion and moderation;” and a bill was brought in, as usual, for indemnifying those who had acted under the provisions of it. Upon the second reading of this bill in the house of commons, sir Samuel Romilly, in the course of an eloquent speech, declared “that it annihilated the rights of individuals, and took away all legal remedies from those who had suffered by an irresponsible and unconstitutional exercise of authority.” But the dangerous discretion entrusted to ministers appearing, upon the whole, to have been exercised with moderation, the bill passed by great majorities.

A motion made by lord Althorp, March 5th, on the report of the mutiny-bill, for the reduction of the present military force, was opposed by lord Palmerston, and supported by lord Nugent and Mr. Warre. The present system was declared to be ruinous to the constitution. On every occasion was seen a parade of military force. This was a great and striking change from the habits of our ancestors. The motion was negatived by 63 to 42 members.

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1818.
Motion for
Army Re-
duction.

A royal message on the 13th of April announced the intended marriages of the dukes of Clarence and Cambridge, to the princesses of Saxe-Meiningen and Hesse-Cassel: and soon after, that of the duke of Kent to the dowager-princess of Saxe-Leiningen, sister of prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; and the prince regent expressed "his reliance on the readiness of parliament to make the necessary provision for the same." This gave rise to a memorable debate.

Royal Mar-
riages.

A previous meeting of those members whose support was deemed essential on this occasion, being convened at the house of the minister, it was proposed that 22,000*l.* per annum should be added to the parliamentary revenue of the duke of Clarence; and 12,000*l.* severally to the dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge, a year's income being paid in advance. This

Grants of
Revenue.

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1818.

would amount to 116,000*l.* the first year, and 58,000*l.* permanent increase of revenue. So little encouragement, however, did this project meet with in the first instance, that lord Castlereagh thought it prudent to limit the proposition which he submitted to the house (April 15th) to an addition of 10,000*l.* to the duke of Clarence, and 6000*l.* to the other dukes. The latter sum was not objected to ; but no reason being assigned why the house should show any partiality to the duke of Clarence, Mr. H. Sumner moved an *amendment*, placing him on the same level, which was carried by 193 to 184 voices.

On the following day, the question was put on the resolution relative to the duke of Cambridge, which was carried by 177 to 95 votes ; but the same motion respecting the duke of Cumberland was negatived by a majority of 143 to 136 members. The duchess of Cumberland was, however, included in the reversionary provision of 6000*l.* per annum for the intended consorts of the royal dukes. The duke of Clarence unadvisedly declared his determination, through the medium of lord Castlereagh, should the vote of the committee be confirmed, wholly to decline the proposed addition ; and lord Castlereagh intimated that the negotiation of the marriage might in that

case be considered as at an end. This communication was received with perfect indifference, and the 6000*l.* was *apparently* saved to the public, though in the event it proved to be otherwise.

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A message from the duchess of Cumberland, delivered by lord L. Gower, was listened to with far different feeling. That nobleman declared, in the name of her royal highness, “that the first impression on her mind was, that although it was impossible for her not to feel a grateful sense of the kindness of the house, yet from delicacy she ought not to accept of the provision, lest, by concurring in any measure of that nature, she might appear to be separating her interests from those of her husband. But as it was the anxious desire of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that whatever might happen to him, her royal highness should be amply provided for, she had made to the wish of the duke a sacrifice of that feeling to which she had alluded. Her royal highness, while she had the highest sense of the kindness of the house, hoped and trusted that she might never become a burden on a people by whom she had been treated with so much generosity.” This touched the true chords of English feeling, and it was heard with marked approbation ; but the

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duke's situation was now painful, and, in the course of the summer, he with the duchess again withdrew to the Continent. The same addition of 6000*l.* was subsequently voted to the duke of Kent. In April, the princess Elizabeth, third daughter to the King, espoused the hereditary prince of Hesse Homberg; but no application to parliament was made on that account.

Reflections
on the
Royal Mar-
riage Act.

In the course of the discussions to which the prince regent's message gave rise, very free remarks were made from both sides the house on the policy first introduced into this kingdom by the royal marriage act, passed at an early period of the present reign by very small majorities, and requiring the utmost exertions of the court.

Mr. Canning observed, "that if there was any thing objectionable in the propositions now brought forward, it arose from the existing laws of the country, which prevented the royal family from entering into engagements of marriage at home. If foreign connection proved unhappy, the fault was in the laws, and not in the individuals who were bound by them."

It was remarked, that the only plausible ground for passing the royal marriage act was the prevention of disputed claims to the

succession : and, in a barbarous age, the rivalry of York and Lancaster had indeed been productive of great calamity. But in the present state of society no such competition could be apprehended. By this act, the royal family were precluded from forming connections with the noblest houses among the natives, and were forced into alliances with the petty princes of Germany. Neither the Plantagenets, nor the Tudors, nor the Stuarts, had thought themselves degraded by an intermixture of English blood. And so long as native connections are barred by law, so long will the Guelphs be regarded as a foreign family.

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It may also be observed, that the antient usages and constitution of this country are wholly adverse to the idea of an *insulated* family. The prejudice was always strong in favour of the succession of females, which is altogether subversive of the indefeasible right of a particular race. In the reign of king Richard II. the whole nation looked up to the earl of March as the rightful heir, in virtue of his descent from his mother the princess Philippa ; not at all solicitous as to the fate of the Plantagenets. And Henry IV. not choosing to trust to his parliamentary, which was incomparably his best title, the affections of the

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nation reverted to the house of York, as descended from the house of March. The title of Elizabeth queen of Henry VII. was considered as decidedly superior to that of the earl of Warwick, last of the Plantagenets, though she carried the crown into a new family; and on the recent occasion of the marriage of the princess Charlotte with prince Leopold, not the slightest symptom of uneasiness was manifested, either by whigs or tories, at the probable transfer of the crown from the house of Hanover to that of Saxe-Coburg.

The younger branches of the royal family were far from entering into the high German notions of the King. His brothers, the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, married English ladies of rank; and his son, the duke of Sussex, espoused at Rome, April 4, 1793, lady Augusta Murray, the accomplished daughter of the earl of Dunmore; the ceremony being repeated, December 5, 1793, at St. George's church, Westminster. Yet the marriage was declared null and void, at the suit of the King, by the prerogative court, in 1794. In fine, by sending his sons to Germany for education, this monarch evinced partialities and prejudices derogatory to this country, and unknown since the foundation of the monarchy.

On the 19th May, sir Robert Heron moved for leave to bring in a bill for repealing the septennial act; an object which had formerly been deemed of the highest importance, and had excited the most strenuous efforts. The motion was supported by sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Brougham. It is remarkable that upon this occasion strangers were not permitted to be present; and the motion was negatived, in comparatively a thin house, by 117 against 42 members. By the advocates of parliamentary reform in the present times, the restoration of triennial parliaments, unaccompanied by other changes, was generally considered as of very problematic advantage.

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Motion for
the Repeal
of the Sep-
tennial Act.

The financial deficiencies of the present year were provided for by the conversion of a certain portion of the three per cents. into a new three and a half per cent. stock, which, according to the estimate of the chancellor of the exchequer, would produce the sum of 3,000,000. The remainder was supplied by an issue of exchequer-bills, a large proportion of those outstanding being funded.

Statement
of Finance.

A treaty alluded to in the speech from the throne between England and Spain, relative to the slave-trade, was laid before the house, with peculiar satisfaction, by lord Castlereagh.

Treaty with
Spain.

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1818.

Conformably to the articles of this treaty, Spain, in consideration of the sum of 400,000*l.* to be paid by the former in compensation of the losses which had been or might be sustained by the subjects of his catholic majesty engaged in that traffic, consented to its abolition on all the coasts of Africa north of the line, still leaving it open to the south. What advantage could arise from this treaty seemed difficult to discover. As to the money to be paid by England, who was doomed to pay for every thing, and by whom all indemnification had been refused to her own merchants, it would doubtless, under the existing circumstances, be appropriated by Ferdinand to the odious and unavailing purpose of subjugating the revolted provinces of South America; and those, of whom the number was by no means small, who saw an insidious meaning in every act of lord Castlereagh, deemed this to be the real and sole intent of the treaty. A convention was also concluded with Portugal to the same effect. Such was the result of the address moved at the close of the last session by Mr. Wilberforce.

Changes
in the Re-
gency Act.

The declining health of the queen caused a bill to be introduced by which some material alterations were made in the regency-act. By this bill she was empowered to nominate cer-

tain additional members to her council; and the clause was repealed which required the immediate assembling of parliament on the demise of her majesty. The new members of council were the earl of Macclesfield, the bishop of London, lord St. Helens, and lord Henley. The present session was terminated, June 10th, by a speech from the prince regent, congratulating the two houses "on the manifest improvement of the internal circumstances of the country, and the growing indications of national prosperity:" immediately after which, the lord chancellor declared it to be the will and pleasure of the prince, that the parliament be now dissolved.

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Dissolu-
tion of Par-
liament,
June 10.

In the autumn, a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, attended on the part of Britain by lord Castlereagh, in which it was determined that the allied army of occupation should be withdrawn, on or before the 30th November ensuing, from the French territory. This was accordingly done, and the fortresses fully restored, to the great satisfaction of all parties in that kingdom. On the meeting of the legislative body in December, the king congratulated the chambers "that the French standard now floated throughout the entire territory of France, who had again taken the place which belonged to her in Europe." After

State of
France.

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1818.

declaring his inviolable adherence to the *charter*, he added—"In the laws which will be proposed to you, I shall take care that its spirit shall be always consulted, in order to secure more and more the public rights of the French, and to preserve in the monarchy the force which it must have to preserve all the liberties which are dear to my people." At this period Louis XVIII., sensible of the ground he had lost, seemed to be resolved on the adoption of measures calculated to restore in some measure the public confidence. And on the 30th December, to the great chagrin of the ultra-royalists, and the count d'Artois, their acknowledged head, a total change of administration took place. In the new arrangement, the marquis Dessoles succeeded the duc de Richelieu in the foreign department as first minister, the count de Cazes was appointed minister of the interior, the sieur de Serre of justice, baron Portal of marine, baron Louis of finance. The duc de Richelieu, a nobleman of great respectability, was said to retire from indisposition, and still retained the rank of minister of state. This change gave much satisfaction to the nation in general.

State of
Spain.

The chains of Spain seemed now to be riveted under the tyranny of the perfidious

Ferdinand. Finding all his efforts to reduce the South American provinces to submission hopeless, he now proposed to them the following terms, agreeably to a formal notification made by him (June 15th) to the powers of the holy alliance, stating his desire "to employ every means depending upon human wisdom to reclaim *his deluded subjects*."

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1st. A general amnesty for the insurgents immediately upon their submission. 2d. Admission for Americans of suitable endowments to all offices in common with European Spaniards. 3d. Regulations for the commerce of these provinces with foreign states, founded on principles of freedom, and conformable to the present political situation of Europe. 4th. A sincere disposition on the part of his catholic majesty to give his sanction to every measure which may be proposed by the high allies, compatible with his rights and dignity.

This very much resembled the offer of Great Britain to her revolted colonies in 1778; and it met, as might be expected, with the same contemptuous reception.

In Sweden, the death of Charles XIII., a Sweden. most respectable monarch, truly beloved and revered by his subjects, took place at an advanced age, on the 5th February (1818); and he was succeeded by the crown prince, under

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the appellation of Charles XIV. His coronation as king of Norway was celebrated at Drontheim, the antient capital, September 7th following. He was recognized by all the powers of Europe, and proved himself worthy of the throne to which he was elected.

North
America.

The speech of the president of the United States of America, Monroe, in his message to congress of November 16th, announced the continuance of peace and prosperity, and the flourishing state of the public finances; the annual amount of which had now risen, notwithstanding the great reduction of taxes, to 25,000,000 of dollars. Various treaties, including extensive territorial acquisitions, had been made with the Indians. The measures of permanent defence authorized by congress, including the navy of the United States, were in progress; and another state, "the Illinois," had been added to the union.

Resigna-
tion of
Lord Ellen-
borough.

Immediately previous to the Michaelmas term, the resignation was announced of the chief justiceship by lord Ellenborough. He was succeeded in that dignity by Mr. justice Abbot; and though an appointment of a puisne judge of the same court was not accounted altogether constitutional, as tending to create an undue influence, the new chief-justice, not aspiring to the honours of the peerage or a

seat in the cabinet, has filled his high office with distinguished impartiality and reputation.

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The queen of England, after a long and severe illness, expired on the 17th November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, and the fifty-eighth of her marriage with the King. The great popularity which she for many years enjoyed had long ceased to exist. Her ruling passion in the decline of life was believed to be the accumulation of riches : and the political influence which she acquired during the illness of the King in 1788-9, she never lost ; and it was thought to be invariably employed on the unpopular side of the question. But she was respected for her exemplary attentions to the King, for the general propriety of her conduct, and the dignified decorum which she uniformly maintained in her household and court.

Death of
the Queen.

The new parliament was convened for the dispatch of business on the 14th of January, 1819 ; and on the 21st a speech was delivered by the lord chancellor, who, with the lord president, the lord privy-seal, and the other lords commissioners, was empowered to open the parliament, stating the commands of the prince regent to express the deep regret felt by him for the continuance of his Majesty's

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New Par-
liament
convened
January 14.

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lamented indisposition. The severe calamity caused by the demise of the queen would render the consideration of parliament necessary as to the measures with respect to the care of his Majesty's *sacred* person. The prince regent was persuaded that parliament would view with peculiar satisfaction the intimate union which so happily subsisted among the powers who were parties to the late congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. His royal highness had the greatest pleasure in being able to *inform* the parliament, that the trade, commerce, and manufactures of the country, were in a most flourishing condition. And in adverting to the papers relative to India, which the prince regent had directed to be laid before the two houses, the lords commissioners had the commands of his royal highness to inform them, that the operations undertaken against the Pindarees were dictated by the strictest principles of self-defence; and that, in the extended hostilities which followed, the Mahratta princes were *in every instance* the aggressors!"

Bill for regulating
the Windsor
Establishment.

A bill was immediately brought in by the earl of Liverpool for regulating the whole Windsor establishment. The duke of York was nominated guardian of the King's person; and it was proposed, that the same allowance

of 10,000*l.* per annum which had been granted to the queen for *extraordinary expenses*, unknown to the public, should be continued to the duke. On this question a warm debate arose; and Mr. Tierney moved that the allowance should be paid out of the privy-purse. This was negatived by 281 to 186 voices; the duke having previously authorized lord Castle-reagh to declare, “that he would not take, directly or indirectly, what he regarded as the property of his father.” This led to a farther discussion. According to the prescription of a thousand years, the King had no private property, and the privy-purse was merely that portion of the civil list which he chose to allot for his personal expenses. If, therefore, no personal expenses could be incurred, it again reverted to general purposes. Nor was any plausible ground stated to warrant such an application for the fulfilment of a natural duty, which involved in it no farther obligation than that of attending a monthly council at Windsor. The pecuniary embarrassments of the duke, whose revenues were confessedly very ample, were distantly hinted at. This consideration, however, was not only irrelevant, but the cause was understood to be such as the wealth of the Indies would not relieve.

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Death of
Lord Ellen-
borough.

An interval of a few weeks only had elapsed between the resignation and the death of lord Ellenborough; the vacancy caused by which in the Windsor council was filled by marquis Camden. Lord Ellenborough was an able and upright judge in the usual course of his professional occupations; but the impropriety of combining the character and authority of chief-justice of England with that of a politician and cabinet counsellor, never appeared in a more striking light. In him all the prerogative prepossessions of lord Mansfield were seen in full force; but, unhappily, unaccompanied by any tincture of the urbanity or noble manners of that great man.

Motion for
a Com-
mittee of
Finance.

A grand and early trial of strength in the new parliament occurred in a motion by Mr. Tierney for a committee of enquiry respecting the restriction on Bank payments. "No financial arrangements deserving the name of system," Mr. Tierney observed, "had taken place since the re-establishment of peace. What must the nation think of a minister of finance, who, year after year, resorted to mere temporary expedients to enable him to pass from session to session, by holding out the expectation that things would mend? This procrastination might be pleasant to himself, but it was fatal to the country. He wished for an

open investigation, without tricks or contrivances, or any secret movement of wires behind the curtain; for the right honourable gentleman was the occupant of an office in which he seemed to have no will of his own."

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The chancellor of the exchequer appealed to the justice of the house against the imputations thus thrown out against him. Not venturing to oppose the motion altogether, he moved an amendment, importing a limitation of the object of enquiry to ascertaining in a secret committee the expediency of the resumption of cash-payments at the period fixed by law. The original motion being negatived by 277 to 168 voices, the amendment was carried without a division.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Wilberforce presented a petition from the quakers, praying for a revival of the penal code. In the course of his speech on this occasion, Mr. Wilberforce alluded to the recent death of Sir Samuel Romilly, who, at the last general election, had in the most honourable manner been chosen member for Westminster. He lamented "that this important question could not now be advocated by one whose name would be recorded among the benefactors of mankind, and whose memory would be cherished by all

Petition
for revising
the Penal
Code.

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who revered either public or private virtue. The country had been deprived of his assistance when it was most wanted, and when he had proceeded but a few steps in his progress towards the present object; in which he would in the end have disarmed all opposition by the persuasion of his eloquence, and compelled conviction by the force of his talents." This homage of praise, so justly merited, was received with the loudest applause from every part of the house.

Wager of
Battle
abolished.
Case of
Thornton
and Ash-
ford.

In the course of the session, a bill, brought in by the attorney-general, passed into a law, for abolishing the absurd and obsolete appeal, in the case of murder, to the trial by battle! This was occasioned by a remarkable appeal of this nature in a recent and most flagrant case of acquittal, under circumstances involving the strongest presumptions of guilt. By this bill the right of pardoning, in its fullest extent, was vested in the crown, which thus acquired some addition of power.

Petition
from the
English
Catholics.

On the 4th of March, a petition from the English catholics was presented to the house of commons by lord Nugent, a nobleman distinguished by his inflexible adherence to the principles of liberty and humanity. To this petition many thousand signatures were affixed, at the head of which was that of the duke

of Norfolk, with ten other peers, praying for the removal of the various disabilities to which they were still subject. It was heard with silent and respectful attention. On the 22d of March, the marquis of Downshire presented to the house of lords a petition from the protestants of Dublin, in favour of the Roman catholics. On the other hand, an anti-petition from the corporation of Dublin, against the catholic claims, was presented by lord Sidmouth.

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All these were preparatory to the motion of Mr. Grattan, May 3d, for the appointment of a committee to consider the state of the existing laws as affecting the catholics. He was ably seconded by lord Normanby, son of the earl of Mulgrave. This young nobleman deprecated, as totally incompatible with the received principles of the British constitution, the permanent exclusion of so large a portion of our fellow-subjects from the benefits of it, and retaining them in a state of political thralldom, or degradation. "This," he observed, "was an extraordinary anomaly, and justly regarded as the reproach of a nation which had so often fought in the defence of the liberties of Europe." After a long and animated debate, the motion was lost by two voices only; the numbers being 241 to 243.

Motion for
Relief.
House of
Commons.

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Similar
Motion.
House of
Lords.

The same great question was again brought before the house of peers by the earl of Donoughmore. It was opposed, as usual, by the lord chancellor, "who could not see how the king's supremacy in things temporal could be reconciled with the pope's supremacy in things spiritual ; and he referred to the history of this country, from the period of the restoration in 1660, to the revolution in 1688, in proof of this axiom."

Earl Grey observed in reply, " that the laws passed previous to the revolution were founded on particular circumstances, which no longer existed. It was true that our ancestors, after the expulsion of James, retained those laws, and even added to their severity ; but they had strong reasons for so doing. The king had taken refuge with the greatest catholic sovereign in Europe, and was supported by a number of catholic partizans in this country. The necessity for those laws having ceased, the policy of our ancestors could no longer be urged for their continuance. On the contrary, that policy which established general rights and national freedom ought now to be extended to the catholics."

The bishops of Worcester and Peterborough, though professing themselves friends to toleration, spoke against the catholic claims, which

were advocated, as usual, by the bishop of Norwich ; who declared himself “ equally averse to precipitate change, or obstinate opposition to any alteration of the law, however salutary ; or any accommodation to times and circumstances, however necessary. Amidst the changeful scenes of human life, we could not with safety remain stationary, and ought to learn liberality from the age in which we live. It was the duty of that house to consider the state of the existing laws, and not to suffer this country to be the only one in Europe where religious opinions excluded from civil rights.” On dividing, the numbers in favour of the motion were 106 ; against it, 147 peers.

On the 11th of May, a bill was introduced into the house of commons for enabling the public to accept the magnificent sacrifice of the marquis Camden, who had some time since voluntarily resigned the surplus profits of his patent office of teller of the exchequer, beyond the moderate salary annexed to it by the reform-bill of Burke, after the decease of the actual possessors. This was supposed to be a relinquishment of near 10,000*l.* per annum. A doubt having arisen whether this princely gift was not of the nature of a *benevolence* unwarranted by law, this bill was intended to obviate the *danger of the precedent*,

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Noble Con-
duct of
Marquis
Camden.

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 1819. which, however, certainly was not very great ;
 and it will probably long remain a singular
 monument of the munificent patriotism of an
 illustrious individual.

Foreign
 Enlistment
 Bill.

No ministerial measure of the present session was more warmly contested in the house of commons, or excited more indignation out of it, than the bill introduced by the attorney-general (May 13th) for preventing enlistment, and the equipment of vessels for foreign service. The first of these objects he stated to have been in part provided for by two statutes of king George II, which made it an offence amounting to felony to enter the service of any foreign state. But if neutrality were proper, it was important to extend the penalty to unacknowledged as well as acknowledged powers. And he proposed to amend these statutes by introducing, after the words king, prince, &c. “ colony or district who do assume the powers of government.” It was on a similar principle that he desired to prevent the fitting out of armed vessels, or supplying other vessels with warlike stores in any of his majesty’s ports.

Sir James Mackintosh rose immediately to warn the house, that however this motion might be worded and its true object concealed, it ought to be entitled a bill for preventing

British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service. The statutes of George II, alleged as authority on this occasion, were not general laws applicable to all times and circumstances: on the contrary, they were calculated for temporary purposes; namely, to prevent the formation of Jacobite corps, organized in France and Spain against the peace of this country. This measure was in fact designed to repress the rising liberty of the South Americans, and to enable Spain to re-impose that yoke of tyranny which they were unable to bear, which they had nobly shaken off, and from which he trusted in God they would finally be able to free themselves, whatever attempts were made by the ministers of this or any other country to countenance or assist their oppressors.

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Lord Castlereagh earnestly deprecated the introduction of political topics, with which the learned gentleman had filled his speech. He contended that the law was necessary to prevent our giving just offence to Spain, whom that house was too just and generous to *oppress* because she was weak and her fortunes had declined. Was not the proclamation of neutrality issued eighteen months ago generally approved? and was it not a breach of

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that proclamation, when not only individuals or officers in small numbers went out to join the insurgents, but when there was a regular organization of troops; when ships of war were prepared in our ports, and transports were chartered to carry out arms and ammunition? He felt some apology due to the house for not sooner bringing forward such a measure. But while any hope remained of a mediation between Spain and her colonies, he had been unwilling to speak of the policy of the existing laws; and it was but lately that such hope had entirely vanished.

In the course of the debate, it was more openly avowed that the present measure was justified by the stipulations of the treaty concluded with Spain in 1814, and grounded on the representations of his catholic majesty's ministers in pursuance of that treaty. This necessarily excited very severe comments on the character of the king of Spain, and the baseness which would be manifested in passing a legislative measure on his suggestion, and to serve his purposes. On the commitment of the bill, June 10th, it was again assailed with all the powers of argument and eloquence, as an act of ignoble concession to the most odious of despots. In the renewed debate, sir James Mackintosh observed, "that instances of ser-

vice like that complained of by Ferdinand VII, and embarked in by the subjects of this realm, were innumerable. Every one knew that Gustavus Adolphus had with him no small proportion of British troops, commanded too by a marquis of Hamilton, a man of the first distinction in his own country. In the reign of king James I. a great body of troops, under sir Horace Vere, had served in Germany against the Spaniards; yet Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, never had the courage to demand of that monarch, with whom he was so high in favour, any such concession: and would the house grant to Ferdinand VII, against whom the feelings of all men living were excited, what had been refused to the most powerful of his ancestors?"

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The public abhorrence of this bill was strongly manifested by the numerous petitions presented against it. The division in its favour on the second reading was only 155 to 142; but a treasury circular being issued, that on the commitment was 248 to 174 members; and in the successive divisions which took place in its progress, the number who voted in opposition to it probably exceeded 200. It passed at length by a majority of 61. In the upper house it again underwent a determined resistance. The mar-

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quis of Lansdown forcibly remarked “ that this measure would give to the government of Old Spain, to which arms were allowed to be sent, that assistance which ministers denied to the Spanish colonies.” The motion of lord Holland that the bill be rejected, was negatived by 100 to 47 peers.

The contrast between the feelings of the court and those of the country, and, what was of far greater consequence, between those of the people and the majority of their representatives, could not appear in a more striking point of view. Every motive of policy, as well as of justice and beneficence, concurred in opposition to this act. Spain was carrying on a contest hopeless and ruinous; and the best friends to that country would be happy to see it brought to a close. Great numbers of British officers and soldiers, “ whose bruised arms were now hung up for monuments,” would rejoice to be employed in so noble a cause; and by a timely interposition in favour of the South Americans, an inexhaustible mart might be obtained for British manufactures, with a boundless scope for commercial enterprise. But the ambition of lord Castlereagh was to restore in all respects the reign of darkness and despotism; and thus the blood and tears of Europe would have flowed in vain.

On the 18th of May, Mr. Tierney, in one of the fullest houses ever known, moved that the house do resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation. In the course of a long and able introductory speech, Mr. Tierney dwelt upon "the inefficiency of the present military system to restore our former national character and importance in the world, while our financial and naval concerns were totally neglected. A well-manned fleet, and a well-filled exchequer, were what Britain ought to confide in; and not in an unwieldy military establishment, inconsistent with the habits and constitution of the country. He knew of nothing attempted, and much less accomplished, by ministers for the public welfare. On the contrary, they had done their utmost to prevent the success of those by whose triumphs we might be benefited, to exasperate the whole mass of South Americans, and to destroy every hope of commercial advantage, or alleviating the prevailing distress."

Lord Castlereagh appealed to the house, "whether in the course of the past, they had ever found such an eminent failure as might justify the withdrawment of their confidence from the present ministers. In the opposition to the measures of government, he could recognize nothing else than a determined dispo-

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Motion for
Committee
on the State
of the Na-
tion.

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sition to thwart the efforts of his Majesty's ministers to stem the torrent of destruction which threatened the country." The motion was finally negatived by 357 against 178 members.

Report of
Finance
Committee.

From the report of a committee of finance, appointed early in the session, it appeared that the receipt of the year, ending January 5th, 1819, including the sums applicable to the sinking fund, was 69,370,872*l.*; and that the expenditure of the same year, including the interest of the national debt, was 67,707,088*l.*, leaving a balance of 1,663,784*l.* The amount of the debt funded and unfunded at this period was about 840,000,000*l.* To this alarming report was annexed no recommendation or enforcement of œconomy; no mention of the abolition of useless places, pensions, or sinecures; of the reduction of the army, of the civil establishment, or of the eventual relief of the public, in any mode whatever.

On the 7th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of the whole house, brought forward his financial statements, founded upon the basis of this report; and upon this occasion they were as clear as they had hitherto been perplexed and obscure. The supplies of the current year were provided for by taking twelve millions from the sinking

fund, being nearly its whole produce, and a loan of 12,000,000, five of which went to the repayment of the debt due to the Bank, and the remainder to the redemption of part of the heavy load of outstanding exchequer-bills. Having, without remorse, divested the sinking fund of 238,000,000, being the whole of the stock redeemed previous to 1813, and of nearly the entire growing produce at the present period, the chancellor of the exchequer now proposed to re-establish this abused and plundered fund, fixing its amount at 5,000,000, but without any additional safeguard against future depredation. What walls or bulwarks, indeed, could secure this sacred deposit against any future rapacious minister, who, as experience had proved, might, "with one slight bound, high overleap all bounds?"

When compelled to relinquish the property-tax, Mr. Vansittart had, in no complacent mood, given up the tax on malt, estimated at 2,000,000. This he now thought proper to revive. Additional duties on wool, British spirits, tobacco, tea, coffee, and pepper, made up his catalogue of ways and means for raising the surplus of the revenue to 5,000,000.

Mr. Tierney asked if ministers thought the people of England stocks or stones, that they could endure such treatment? Was it not

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beyond the limits of human patience to be told, in the fifth year of peace, that the only remedy for an insupportable taxation was the imposition of 3,000,000 of additional taxes? He would not enter into particulars, for his determination was to oppose the whole, for which purpose he moved the previous question. This, after a vehement debate, was negatived by a vast majority of 329 to 132 voices.

On the report, Sir M. W. Ridley moved a more definite proposition—"that it was not expedient, in the distressed state of the country, nor till every measure of practicable retrenchment was adopted, to add to the burdens of the people by any fresh impositions." The chancellor of the exchequer being called upon, acknowledged that he had no specific plan of retrenchment to bring forward. Yet, on the division, the amendment was negatived by 186 to 76 voices. These majorities were, doubtless, heightened by many independent members who were reluctant to deny the sinking-fund even this forlorn hope of revival. But, like all the other evanescent schemes of this fluctuating minister, it proved to be the delusion of the moment.

New
Colony
founded.

At the instance of the chancellor of the exchequer, the trifling sum of 50,000*l.* was voted

for the purpose of founding a new colony on the coast of Africa, to the east of the Cape. This was professedly intended as an asylum for persons in distress and out of employment, in England. It was, therefore, proposed to convey the settlers thither gratis, and to afford them some farther facilities on their arrival. But the spot selected for the settlement was found barren and desolate, the land incapable of cultivation, and the whole project crude and impracticable; so that the expected comforts of these wretched wanderers proved more difficult to endure, than even their former privations and sufferings.

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Among the most laudable measures of the present session, was an act of grace on the part of the prince regent for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, by which the blood of his two children, a son and daughter, had been, in the barbarous language of the law, *corrupted*. The preamble of the bill stated, “that lord E. F. had never been brought to trial; that the act of attainder did not pass the Irish parliament till some months after his decease; and that the attainder therefore could not have issued against him upon a regular conviction.” The bill was introduced by the earl of Liverpool; and the duke of Wellington bore a generous testimony

Fitzgerald
attainder
reversed.

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to the gallant conduct of the young man in the army. Under such auspices, and so powerfully recommended by its own merits, no obstruction could occur.

Resolution
respecting
Parliamentary
reform.

On the 1st of July a resolution, moved by sir Francis Burdett, "that the house would, early in the next session, take into consideration the state of the representation," was supported by Mr. George Lambe, his colleague for Westminster, in the present parliament. This gentleman professed himself "favourable to reform, so far as triennial parliaments and extending the right of sending members to parliament from certain large and, at present, unrepresented towns, would be included in it." This plan, combined with the necessary regulations respecting the exercise of the elective franchise, would, probably, be found adequate to every practical purpose. The motion was, after a long discussion, negatived by 153 to 58 votes.

Prorogation
of Parliament,
July 13.

The parliament was prorogued July 13, 1819, by the prince regent, who, in his speech, invited "the co-operation of the members with the magistracy of their respective counties, in endeavours to defeat the machinations of those who, under pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of our happy constitution." Yet not a single measure either of

relief under the present distresses, or of prevention against any irregular expression of the popular feeling, had been proposed by ministers during the session.

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France was still in a very agitated state. The king seemed, however, decidedly to adhere to the moderate party, as opposed to the ultra royalists, and, in consequence of a proposition brought forward by that dangerous faction for changing the law of election, Louis, by an extraordinary exertion of his prerogative, and in order to secure a preponderance to their opponents, created fifty-four new peers; at the same time recalling twenty-two of the number erased from the list by the ordinance of 1815. Among the peers thus created, were the marshals D'Avoust, Lefebvre, Moncey, Suchet, and Jourdain; M. Champagny, Chaptal, Daru, Portalis, Truguet, and many others who had stood high in the favour of Bonaparte. An act of the legislature passed for the abolition of the *droits d'Aubaine*, and some relaxation was made in the law restraining the liberty of the press. Various indulgences also were extended to the exiles of 1815; and the heroic marshal Soult, in particular, was again received into the bosom of his country.

State of
France.

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Spain.

In Spain, the interest of Ferdinand VII. seemed to be strengthened by the death of Charles IV, who since his abdication had resided at Rome; and to whom many began to turn their eyes with comparative complacency. Disaffection rapidly diffused itself through the nation; and an armament being prepared at Cadiz for South America, the troops refused to embark; declaring plainly that they would not serve against the colonies.

South
America.

The efforts of those provinces had recently been crowned with splendid success. Lord Cochrane, who had met so harsh a return for his services in his native country, had fitted out a vessel for South America; and landing safely in that quarter of the globe, was appointed to the chief command of the naval force of the new republic of Chili, in which capacity he displayed his characteristic skill and gallantry. In New Grenada, general Bolivar, who commanded the insurgents, gained decisive advantages over his antagonist, general Murillo; and the royal cause seemed to be reduced to the lowest ebb. In virtue of a treaty signed early in this year, the United States of America obtained from Spain the cession of the Floridas, of which they were already in actual possession, but Ferdinand delayed his ratification.

In Germany, the aspect of affairs in the beginning of this year appeared remarkably favourable. Hanover, where the duke of Cambridge acted as regent, set a laudable example of reform, by the abolition of torture, by the reduction of the army, and by various salutary financial regulations. In Wirtemberg, the modified plan of a representative constitution, was accepted by the States, and received the dangerous guarantee of Russia. A similar constitution was established in Bavaria; the king expressing from the throne, the great satisfaction which he felt in the accomplishment of this important object. The same beneficial change took place in the grand duchy of Baden: but Prussia, which had been most lavish of promises, still resisted.

On a sudden, the whole political horizon in Germany was clouded over. The celebrated Kotzebue, long resident in Russia, had, on his recent return to his native country, engaged to furnish the emperor Alexander with regular reports relative to the German universities; where very free sentiments on the subject of government had been widely diffused. His letters were said to be filled with severe reflections; and his conduct had provoked the excessive resentment of those students who

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had imbibed the obnoxious sentiments in question. Louis Sand, a young political fanatic of this description, belonging to Erlangen, viewing Kotzebue in the light of a spy, a traitor, and an apostate from liberty, left his college, March 1819, and repairing to Manheim, where Kotzebue then resided, obtained on the 23d of that month, upon the false pretence of a message from the seminary of which he was a member, admittance to that extraordinary person, and at one stroke stabbed him to the heart. He then walked calmly into the street, and plunged the same dagger into his own breast; but the wound did not prove mortal; and he was reserved for future and exemplary punishment. This affair was immediately brought before the diet at Frankfort; by whom, on the motion of Austria, a commission of enquiry into all political offences was established at Mentz. The Russian students were recalled from the German universities. Numerous arrests took place, and some professors, suspected of favouring *the new opinions*, underwent severe examinations; and now the Prussian monarch seemed to think himself absolved from all his engagements.

Case of
Parga.

In the course of this summer, a transaction took place, in which the honour of Britain was deeply involved, and the circumstances were

such as forced themselves upon the public notice at home, and abroad.

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On the fall of Venice her possessions on the eastern side of the Adriatic shared the fate of that antient and famous republic, which it was the will of Bonaparte not to renovate, or reform, but utterly to subvert. Among the last remains of those brave Greeks who, under the great Scanderbeg, so long resisted the ferocious usurpation of the Turks, the inhabitants of Parga were conspicuous. This city, whose population, including that of a few surrounding villages, scarcely exceeded 5000 souls, is built on a peninsula opposite to the isle of Corfu, and it boasted a citadel of almost impregnable strength. Under the nominal sovereignty of Venice it enjoyed its own laws, privileges, and independence.

1819.
O'Meara,
St. Helena.

By the treaty of Campo-Formio, the Ionian possessions of Venice were confirmed to France. In the year 1800, the Russians and Turks having united to expel the French from the Ionian Isles, the Septinsular or Ionian republic was established by a convention of those powers, "after the manner of Ragusa;" which was in fact independent, paying only a small annual tribute to the Porte, as a recognition of sovereignty. By the same convention, Parga and other cities in Albania were

De Bosset,
on Parga.

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ceded to the Porte on the same conditions and paying the same tribute as they had formerly done to Venice; and this, after an interval of reluctance and even of unavailing resistance, was acceded to by Parga, as well as the rest of these free communities. Thus matters continued till 1806, when war breaking out between Russia and Turkey, Ali Pacha, governor of Albania, a barbarian among barbarians, took military possession of Previsa, Butrinto, and Vonitza; violating in the most atrocious manner all the articles of the convention of 1800, and converting their churches into mosques. He could make, however, except by burning the villages, no impression upon Parga, which, in this extremity, obtained the security of a Russian garrison.

By a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, (A. D. 1807,) the Ionian isles were, by that dire necessity which has no law, consigned, without any pretence of right, by Russia to France; for which Mr. Canning, then minister for foreign affairs, in an official dispatch, forcibly reproached the court of St. Petersburg. The policy of the French emperor at this period leading him to conciliate the Porte, general Berthier, governor of Corfu, received instructions accordingly. Nevertheless, Parga being demanded by Ali Pacha, the general not

only refused compliance, but sent a reinforcement to the garrison; and his conduct was approved by Napoleon. Thus was Parga rescued first by Russia, then by France, from the Turkish yoke.

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By the joint exertions of general Stuart and admiral Collingwood in 1810, the Ionian isles, Corfu excepted, were wrested from French tyranny, and taken under British protection. In 1814 the reverses of Napoleon revived the hopes of Ali Pacha; and the Pargiotes, perceiving their danger, adopted the fatal resolution of placing themselves under the same *protection*, conformably to the tenor of the following declaration:

“ We, the undersigned Primates of Parga, engage, on the behalf of the people, that at the moment when the frigates of his Britannic Majesty shall appear before our fortress, we will subject our country and territory to the *protection* of the invincible arms of Great Britain; and will plant on the walls of our fortress her glorious flag. It being the determination of our country, to follow the destinies of the Ionian Isles, as we have always been under the same jurisdiction.” Signed by Panajoti, Dessila, and eight other chiefs, March 17, 1814.

This declaration being approved and accepted in these precise terms, the citadel of

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Parga was put into the hands of the English ; that famous fortress, which had for ages defied the utmost efforts of the Turks. By the treaty of Paris, A. D. 1815, “ the Ionian isles and their dependencies, *as designated in the convention of 1800*, were placed under the exclusive protection of Great Britain.”—That is, as the convention explains, “ after the manner of the republic of Ragusa,” whose subjection to the Porte was merely nominal, and the tribute fixed and trivial. Previsa, Vonitza, and Butrinto were already subjected to the bloody tyranny of Ali Pacha, who had now likewise obtained from the Sublime Porte a flagitious grant of Parga ; and, as if Parga had been received into British protection for no other purpose than to be delivered up to the Turks, commissioners were immediately appointed to meet those of Ali Pacha at Joannina ; and terms being there agreed upon, colonel De Bosset was deputed by sir Thomas Maitland, governor of Corfu, March 19, 1817, to announce to the Pargiotes the destiny which awaited them.

Debate,
House of
Commons,
June 15,
1819.

The dismay and consternation which ensued no words can describe. The unanimous resolve of the Pargiotes was to quit their native and beloved home, rather than submit to the abhorred yoke of the Turks, imploring only

from the English governor *protection* for their persons and properties. All preliminaries being arranged, the deserted city was accordingly taken possession of by the Turkish troops, May 10, 1819; not more than forty individuals out of the whole population remaining behind. Indemnity had been promised for their properties, of which the value, including land, houses, and above 80,000 olive trees, with plantations of citrons, oranges, and cedrats, was estimated at 500,000*l*. But of this little more than one-fourth ever came into the hands of the sufferers, who were transported first to Corfu, and subsequently to an island represented as little better than a barren rock, called Meganisi. This affair was much the subject of discussion at home, and still more abroad, where it excited inexpressible astonishment. Certain it is that for centuries the good faith of Britain had not been so severely arraigned as in the recent instances of Malta, of Copenhagen, of the Spanish frigates, of Genoa, of Parga; and in the view of Europe, either the character of the nation was changed, or, according to the far more general belief, that of the government.

Great Britain, indeed, exhibited at this time a strange and melancholy contrast to the prosperous and flourishing condition of the king-

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State of
Britain.

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Popular
Meetings.
Leeds, &c.

dom in the auspicious morning of that long and memorable reign which now hastened to its dark and stormy close. Many parts of the country, under pressure of deep distress, shewed symptoms of dangerous agitation. Meetings of artizans and manufacturers were convened to hear speeches from popular orators, and to pass, by acclamation, resolutions for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and voting by ballot. At Manchester, at Leeds, at Stockport, and many other places, such assemblages were regularly convoked and dissolved without any tumultuous procedure, but with minds greatly inflamed by wild declamations against what were called the usurpations of the higher orders, the intolerable sufferings of the poor, and similar topics. Yet it subsequently appeared that some of the most violent of these harangues were made by the spies of the government.

Birmingham elect-
ing a Re-
presenta-
tive.

At length, at a meeting held near Birmingham, not less than 15,000 persons being present, these reformists reached the *acmé* of political audacity, by electing as their representative in parliament for that great town and its vicinity, sir Charles Wolseley, a gentleman of property and character in the neighbourhood, who had the inconceivable indiscretion to accept the delegation. Leeds and Man-

chester announced their intention to imitate the example of Birmingham. It now therefore became indispensable for the government, which had hitherto shewn extraordinary forbearance, to interpose its authority; and warrants were issued for the apprehending of sir Charles Wolseley and others. The reformists of Manchester, who had appointed a day for the election of a representative, were fully and fairly apprised by the magistrates that this procedure was illegal, and would not be suffered; upon which they changed their design, and fixed another day for the sole purpose of petitioning for a reform in parliament. This meeting was accordingly held at noon-day on the 16th of August, in an open space called St. Peter's field, near a church of that name, in Manchester.

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1819.

Meeting at
Manches-
ter.

During the whole of the morning, large bodies of reformers, arrayed in regular order, continued marching in from the neighbouring towns and villages. Each had its own banner, bearing some short inscription or motto, as "No Corn Laws," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot," "Liberty or Death," &c. The numbers collected on this occasion were estimated at more than 50,000, very many being incited to attend from the mere eagerness of curiosity. A band of special consta-

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bles, as was requisite, took their stations on the ground, and the utmost order and decency prevailed throughout this immense multitude; not the slightest suspicion prevailing of criminality, or of danger in their proceedings.

Mr. Hunt, chairman of the meeting, expressed his full confidence in their orderly and peaceable demeanor; nor was any offensive weapon to be seen in the whole assemblage. While he was yet speaking, surprise was excited by the sudden appearance of a troop of Manchester yeoman cavalry, at the extremity of the field. On coming up, the commanding officer told Hunt that he was their prisoner; and with others who were standing on the platform raised for the purpose, he was immediately, by the attendant police officers, taken into custody. The yeomanry then began to strike at the banners, not only those fixed round the platform, but various other parts of the field; charging right and left with their drawn swords, and dashing through all that obstructed their passage. A dreadful scene of confusion and terror ensued; numbers being trampled under the feet of the horses, or cut down; men and women indiscriminately, by the sabres; the Manchester magistrates, who viewed this bloody scene from the windows of a house at a safe distance, are said to have

Massacre
of the
Petitioners.

read the riot-act; but this was known to few: and it is certain that no time was allowed for dispersion, conformably to the requisition of the act, as scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed from the opening of the meeting before the massacre began. The amount of killed and wounded was estimated at between three and four hundred: but in a short time the ground was cleared, and military patrols were stationed in the principal streets.

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On the arrival in London of a dispatch from the Manchester magistrates to lord Sidmouth, a cabinet council was held, and a letter of thanks returned (August 21st), in the name and by the command of the prince regent, to the magistracy of Manchester, "for their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity," including also major Trafford, and the military serving under him, "for the support and assistance lent by them to the civil power." But in respect to this alarming and unprecedented transaction, nothing could be more opposite than the feelings of the court and the country, which, through its whole extent, seemed to be pervaded by one common sensation of terror and indignation: and addresses strongly expressive of these sentiments were presented from the city of London, and many other

Alarm of
the Public.

places, to the prince regent, earnestly praying for enquiry.*

* The dispatch written upon this occasion by the reverend W. R. Haye, chairman of the Manchester magistrâtes, to lord Sidmouth, on the evening of the fatal 16th August, states, "that the different columns were marching in from eleven to one o'clock, attended by music, flags, and ensigns with mottoes, and four if not more caps of liberty, but with no appearance of arms or pikes. Nevertheless, the magistrâtes felt a decided conviction that the whole bore the appearance of insurrection—that the array was such as to terrify all the king's subjects, and was such as no legitimate purpose could justify : and they had very numerous depositions from the inhabitants, as to their fears for the public safety. With the last and heaviest column came Hunt, with three other persons, in a barouche. A warrant was *immediately* issued to apprehend them. The troops were mustered ; and Nadin, the chief police-officer, preceding the Manchester Yeomanry, executed it upon Hunt and Johnson on the hustings. Meantime the riot-act was read, and the mob was completely dispersed, but not without very serious and lamentable effects."

But this representation, fair in its statement of facts, is subversive of its own conclusions. For how could the meeting bear the appearance of *insurrection*, when no weapon had been seen even for defence ? And if the meeting were not in itself illegal or dangerous, it could not be made so by the fears or *depositions* of timid and terrified persons, anxious for their own or the public safety ? The former meeting had been peremptorily, and, as all allowed, properly prohibited, by the magistrâtes. But of the legality of the present, no doubt had been expressed ; no warning given, even by a *circular*

A numerous meeting, convened at York by the high-sheriff, was sanctioned by the presence of earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the West Riding, as well as many other persons of rank and consequence. By this meeting, resolutions appropriate to the occasion were passed; and a petition was voted to the prince regent, to institute an enquiry; the only effect of which was the dismissal of that highly respected nobleman from his lieutenancy. In the royal reply to the city of London, the prince regent referred the sufferers "to the tribunals of the country, if any injury had been sustained;" but the Lancashire grand-jury threw out all the bills preferred against those concerned in the outrages and enormities perpetrated on that fatal day. It is worthy of observation, that at the numerous other meetings convened on the plan of Manchester, the local authorities abstaining from interference, not the slightest breach of the peace ensued. If, however, this mode of petitioning were deemed dangerous to the public peace, the plain constitutional remedy was a preventive law, and not a massacre.

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Meeting at
York.

founded on the opinion of the crown lawyers. In a word, no disorder of any kind existed, previous to the reading of the riot-act, and the savage violence perpetrated by the yeomanry.

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1819.

Meeting of
Parliament,
November
23.

The meeting of parliament, which was impatiently expected by all parties, took place on the 23d of November, 1819. The regent, on passing to and from the house of peers, was assailed by the hisses and groans of an immense multitude. In his speech from the throne, he lamented the necessity of summoning the houses thus early, created as it was by the prevalence of seditious practices, which had been carried on with increased alacrity since the last session. "They have led," said his royal highness, "to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community. And a spirit is now manifested, utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and all order in society." And he concluded with pressing on their attention the measures requisite for the counteraction of these evils, particularly recommending for this purpose an increase of the present enormous military force.

Debate on
the Ad-
dress.
House of
Lords.

The debates on the address took so comprehensive a turn, as to impart to them an unusual portion of historic interest. Earl Grey

observed, "that much had been said of the necessity of coercion; but he held it to be of paramount importance, that in the general solicitude for the safety of the state, the constitution did not receive a shock which ages might not repair. There existed, indeed, much discontent, and in the same proportion much danger; and this must be counteracted by efficient means: but this state of things afforded a strong presumption of misgovernment. For men, and Englishmen in particular, were not so perversely constituted as wantonly to threaten the safety of the country. The system acted upon by ministers was calculated to produce hatred and discontent. He was far from approving the purpose of the Manchester meeting, or what was stiled 'radical reform.' Still he must consider it as a legal meeting, and the conduct of the magistrates such as called for the fullest investigation. He feared that government meant to pursue a system of unqualified coercion, and that new powers would be required, until at last all the principles of the constitution would be departed from." The earl concluded a speech fraught with wisdom and eloquence, by moving an amendment, which, admitting the necessity of checking practices dangerous to the state, enforced the propriety of enquiry into the late transactions.

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This amendment was powerfully supported by lord Erskine, who asserted “the meeting, which was held merely for the purpose of petitioning, to be unquestionably legal. Had force been thought of, would the petitioners have assembled with their wives and children? In case of disorder or tumult, the riot-act ought to have preceded any measures of violence.”

Lord Sidmouth scrupled not to assert, “that the meeting at Manchester was not only illegal, but *treasonable*. The magistrates would not only have acted unwisely, but unjustly and basely, had they done otherwise than they did! The letter of approbation was sanctioned by a cabinet council, and he would not shrink from any part of the responsibility incurred by it. If there was any feature in the present danger more alarming than another, it was the conduct of some persons who encouraged and emboldened the disaffected by standing between the government they assailed and the party assailing.” The amendment was negatived, after an animated discussion, by 159 to 34 peers.

Debate on
the Ad-
dress.
House of
Commons.

Mr. Tierney, on making a similar motion in the house of commons, avowed his opinion “that one great cause of the present discontents was the want of public confidence in that house. This was not confined to any class, and much less to that called the radicals; and a reform in

the representation was the only effectual remedy. But if the object was, by new laws and military force, to stop the progress of reason, the country was indeed arrived at a dreadful crisis. Without enquiry, the country would not be satisfied. It was the duty of that house to enquire. Redress in the ordinary way was not open to the sufferers. How could the multitude obtain redress in a court of law against the magistrates? It was idle to talk of it."

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The marquis of Tavistock seconded the motion. "It was not," he said "surprising that there should be a want of confidence on the part of the people, when they reflected on the little sympathy which was shewn by the votes of that house with the situation of the people. He conjured the house not to drive them to despair by refusing enquiry; by rejecting every proposition of reform, and particularly of parliamentary reform; for so long as that house was constituted as at present, it could not, and it ought not to obtain the confidence of the people."

Lord Castlereagh entered into an elaborate defence of the Manchester magistrates, who had, as he affirmed, acted in the conscientious discharge of a sacred duty. Although the meeting had shewn itself to be of a traitorous

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character, yet every precaution was taken in respect to its dispersion which the law required; and that house was not the proper place for enquiring into the facts connected with the case. He vindicated the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam, who, as he asserted, had disgraced the king's commission!

Mr. Plunket, the chief organ of the Grenville party in the house, pronounced the meeting at Manchester illegal, saying, "that he was not aware of any delay of justice respecting the proceedings of the magistrates, to make parliamentary enquiry necessary." But what caused infinitely deeper concern was the declaration of Mr. Wilberforce, "that no case had been made out which called for enquiry; that the majority of thinking persons were satisfied with the steps taken by the magistrates of Manchester, and would be dissatisfied if enquiry at the bar were instituted."

On the adjourned debate, lord Nugent affirmed "that enquiry was loudly called for. Appeals had been made to the common tribunals in vain; and now they were told that parliament was not fit for enquiry. This conduct was intelligible only upon the principle of denying justice altogether. All the institutions of social life, it was said, were crumbling around us, and anarchy and ruin threatened

to overwhelm us. But let us not confound causes and effects. The disorders of the state were manifestly owing to misgovernment.”

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Sir Francis Burdett said, “the question was not whether such meetings as that at Manchester were desirable or proper; but whether they afforded a sufficient cause for subjecting the people to military execution. Did the riot-act say, that if the people did not instantly disperse, they were to be sabred, and no enquiry made? No. It said, you were to give them warning, to read the act, and allow them time to disperse. Danger was apprehended from allowing the people to meet in large bodies; but when they met in small bodies to petition for reform, it was asserted that no interest was taken in the subject by the bulk of the community. Whatever speculative doctrines of reform in parliament were professed, he doubted not but the nation at large would be satisfied with any reform that should establish an effectual control over the administration of government, through the commons house of parliament.”

On this, as on all other occasions, the dread naturally occasioned by popular commotions, or of popular ascendancy, added beyond all other causes to the strength of government; and on the division, after two nights' debate,

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New Sys-
tem of
Govern-
ment.

the motion was negatived by 381 to 150 voices.

Upon the 29th of November, the lord chancellor opened the *improved* system of government, by introducing a bill for taking away the right of traversing in cases of misdemeanour. This was strongly opposed by earl Grosvenor, who said, “that while the attorney-general was allowed to hold informations over the heads of defendants for an indefinite time, it was greatly adding to the grievance to abolish the right of imparlance; for thus the security of the subject was diminished, and the power of the crown increased.” And Lord Holland urged that the measure ought in equity to be so modified, as to legislate on both sides, by preventing the delays which occurred in *ex officio* informations, as well as in those by indictments. The chancellor conceded so far as to insert an additional clause, compelling the attorney-general to bring a defendant to trial within a year, or to enter a *noli prosecute*; and the bill passed without farther opposition.

Motion for
a Committee
of
Enquiry.
House of
Lords.

On the 30th of November, the marquis of Lansdown, after some comments on the past and impending measures of administration, moved that a select committee be appointed to enquire into the state of the country.

This was opposed by marquis Wellesley, who agreed that the country was in danger; but the danger proceeded from the advocates of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, and it should be met by vigorous measures.

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Lord Grenville declared "that he saw no necessity, either for the present motion, or for any enquiry into the Manchester transactions, convinced as he was, that the conduct of the magistrates was not only free from blame, but highly meritorious; *adding*, that the courts of law were open to all who had complaints to prefer."

Earl Grey rose, as he avowed, with pain, to oppose the powerful authority of his noble friend, with whom he had so long acted; and it was with scarcely less regret that he found himself compelled to differ from another noble lord, of whose able assistance he well knew the advantages. He confessed that he had listened with astonishment to that part of the speech of the noble baron, justifying the authoritative approval given to the Manchester magistrates, in which he believed that noble lord stood almost alone. The people had a great practical grievance to complain of, in the disregard of parliament to their earnest wishes and efforts, which, if they were criminal, had been encouraged by the example of great

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names. He had himself, with such powers as he possessed, contributed, as he must confess, to create the delusion; and not he alone, but Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Sir George Saville, and the illustrious earl of Chatham, were guilty, *if* guilt were to be imputed. *BUT there was NO GUILT:* for who could suppose that such men were labouring for the subversion of the constitution? On the conclusion of an interesting debate, the house divided: in favour of the motion 47; against it 178 peers.

Ibid.

House of Commons.

A similar motion was on the same evening made in the house of commons by viscount Althorp, who expressed in strong terms his disapprobation of the coercive measures now depending; and he declared it to be both dishonourable and unjust to sacrifice the permanent rights and privileges of the people in a case of temporary alarm.

Mr. Bennet, member for Wilts, asked “if the house ought to legislate, to the wide extent now in contemplation, upon imperfect knowledge? Ought they to content themselves with simply pursuing the line marked out by the ministers of the crown? As to himself, he had no faith in the statements of ministers; and the complaints of a distressed population ought surely to be heard.”

Lord Castlereagh said, “that after having

witnessed the whole course adopted by opposition since the opening of the session, he saw little ground to hope for any aid to his Majesty's government from that quarter. He had seen them interpose to prevent the arm of justice from reaching those who wished to destroy *all social order and regular government*. He had witnessed their joining the cry of men, whose efforts were aimed against every thing valuable in the constitution. He would not impute this to any ambitious view of forcing themselves into power, for the authority of office was at this time a heavy responsibility. Yet the language of the right honourable gentlemen opposite gave currency to the assertion, that the *whigs* alone could save the country. 'Ministers,' said those gentlemen, 'had enjoyed power for a series of years; and see what are the effects!' In his opinion, the opposition would have acted a better and more useful part for the country, had they lent their support to government on the present occasion."

Mr. Tierney immediately rose to deprecate this attempt to excite the most acrimonious party feelings. The tories had, indeed, been in possession of the government, with short intervals, for more than fifty years; and what was the result? Increase of taxation, decrease

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of commerce, coercion, discontent, and misery. Such was the government in support of which the noble lord called upon them to unite ! such the government which challenged the confidence of the country ! On dividing, the numbers for the motion were 150; against it, 323.

The *Sir*
Acts.

The measures proposed by lord Sidmouth in the upper house, and lord Castlereagh in that of the commons, in addition to the bill introduced by the chancellor, all of which ultimately passed into acts by great and decisive majorities, were as follow :

A bill for punishing any person found guilty on a second conviction of libel, by fine, imprisonment, or *banishment for life*, or otherwise at the discretion of the judge. A bill for subjecting cheap tracts to a duty equal to that of newspapers; and the publishers to enter into recognizances for the eventual payment of penalties. A bill for preventing seditious meetings, enacting that any persons wishing to meet for the consideration of matters connected with church or state, should notify the same in a requisition signed by seven householders; and that it should be illegal for any person, not usually inhabiting the place where the requisition originated, to attend such assembly: magistrates to appoint the time and place of meet-

ing. This bill, after vehement debate, was limited in its operation to five years. A bill to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate, or lord-lieutenant of a county. *Lastly*, a bill giving magistrates the power of entering houses by night or by day, for the purpose of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes; and also to apprehend and detain persons so carrying arms.

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Very forcible protests were entered on the journals of the lords against the bill last mentioned, and more especially against that for punishing libel by *transportation*; a horrid penalty, mitigated in its passage through the commons to banishment for life! "The offence," it is remarked, "is more than any other undefined and uncertain: so that the author of any writing, dictated by the purest intention on a matter of public interest, may expose himself to the penalty of this act, against which no degree of caution can afford him complete security." This bill, therefore, the protesting lords denounce "as inconsistent with the policy of our law, and the practice of our ancestors; and a most dangerous invasion of the liberty of the press." This was signed by the duke of Sussex and fifteen other peers.

These were commonly known by the appel-

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Lord
Bacon.

Death of
the King,
January
29, 1820.

lation of the *six acts*; and they have been considered as creating a new æra in the law and constitution. Amidst all the exclamations against innovation by anti-reformists, no innovation adding to the power of the crown, or detracting from the privileges of the people, has appeared to excite the slightest alarm. Laws made upon the spur of the occasion, according to the observation of a great man, are for the most part crude and indigested. Yet instead of expiring with the occasion, they are in almost every instance enacted for perpetuity; and such were the laws which signalized the close of a reign which will ever rank among the most memorable recorded in history.

About the end of the year it was announced that the health of the King, which had hitherto been firm for his age, was on the decline. That decline, when it had once commenced, proved to be rapid. On the 23d January, 1820, his fourth son, the duke of Kent, died after a short illness, much esteemed and lamented, leaving an infant daughter to the care of an accomplished but disconsolate mother*: and on Saturday the 29th of that month, the long and

* Victoria Alexandrina, daughter of the duke of Kent, was born May 24, 1819, at the palace of Kensington. She is a child of most engaging appearance and manners.

eventful career of the monarch who had attained his eighty-second year, terminated by a quiet and almost insensible dissolution. Upon the 31st, the prince regent was proclaimed king with the usual solemnities by the name of George IV.

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The venerable age, the protracted sufferings, the private and personal virtues of King George III.

Character
of George
III.

George III. with his still recent demise, render it an invidious task to delineate the political features of his reign, with historic fidelity.

Hume has long since remarked, "as the remediless defect of the English constitution, that

Hume's
Essays.

the personal character of the monarch will too much influence the measures of government."

Yet of George III. it has been said on high authority, and equal truth, "that he

Walde-
grave's
Memoirs.

would never do wrong except when he mistook wrong for right."

The notions of government originally infused into his mind by the earl of

Bute, probably differed little from those which Charles I. learned from archbishop Laud,

however modified in practice by the necessity of circumstances. The noblest measure of his

reign, nevertheless, that is to say, the equitable peace of 1763, concluded in the midst of an

intoxicating series of military triumphs, must be ascribed wholly to the influence of that

nobleman; for the subsequent predilections of

BOOK XLII. the monarch appeared to be all in favour of
 1820. war and conquest, though never but in what
 appeared to him a just cause.

Las Cases,
 III. pt. iii.
 p. 302.

The accession of George III. says a foreign writer, “ was an actual political revolution in England. Pretenders were no more. The house of Hanover was established. The whigs were dismissed from administration, as troublesome observers, no longer wanted. The government was again seized by the tories, those friends of power, who have ever since kept it, to the great detriment of public liberty.” “ Yet the King,” as he adds, “ was personally a friend to law and justice, and sincerely wished the welfare and prosperity of the country.” Unhappily, the counsels by which he was habitually actuated were subversive of the purposes which the monarch, and even the persons with whom those counsels originated, had in contemplation ; for who would willingly be the authors of national distress, or the objects of national resentment ?

By the efforts chiefly of Great Britain, the fallen race of Bourbon, for ages hostile to this country, and deriving no instruction from adversity, were now fully reinstated in what the advocates of the war stiled their legitimate rights. Another result of the war equally extraordinary and alarming, appeared in the pro-

digious aggrandizement of the power of Russia, accompanied with an insatiable desire of farther acquisitions, to which no adequate barrier can be opposed. The third grand phenomenon of the present times, originating in the late bloody and protracted contest, is the unparalleled magnitude of the debt contracted by this country; a debt so enormous in its amount, that the resources of the nation, *vast as they were*, seem to be absorbed and exhausted. Nor have any *efficient means* been adopted to restore this kingdom to the high and commanding station which she is entitled to hold in Europe; an end only to be accomplished by such a reform in the present civil and military establishment, as will create a surplus of revenue adequate to the national exigencies, and sacredly appropriated to that most important of all purposes, the reduction of the public debt. To this must be added the substitution of a conciliatory and constitutional domestic policy, in lieu of a system too long prevalent, of harshness and coercion, gradually tending to assimilate the government of this country to the dominion of the Continental despots.

APPENDIX.

OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO INDIA.

I.

MAJOR SCOTT WARING, the able and zealous advocate of Mr. Hastings, having published a reply to that portion of the History of George III. which related to the governor-general, then under impeachment, not only a printed but written discussion took place, which, contrary to general usage, subsided into an amicable correspondence. The largest of these MS. communications, containing a recapitulation of the chief topics in debate, though of fading interest, may still afford some particulars not wholly unimportant. And the author of this History is sincerely disposed to do all possible justice to the memory of Mr. Hastings.

“BROMLEY, February 16, 1795.

“I do assure you that I took no offence at the manner in which you mention my application to Mr. Burke. At the particular desire of Mr. Hastings, and as nearly as I could use them in his own words, I asked Mr. B. the first day of the session in 1786, if he persevered in the intention he had notified at the close of the last session; and if he did, when he meant to proceed? This step was not taken by Mr. H. without

much and mature consideration. He had no idea of breathing in his native land at the pleasure of Mr. B. neither he nor any one conceiving the possibility of that disgraceful scene which has been acting these long nine years.

I do not say that you ought to have postponed the publication of your History until the close of Mr. H.'s trial. Far from it, I think * * * * But, sir, as the history of India makes a material part of your memoirs, it did behove you to exert your great abilities fairly and honestly, in order to obtain the best possible information.

You say "that the Rohillas applied to the vizier for assistance, but through the dilatory or perhaps insidious policy of the vizier, the auxiliary troops did not arrive till the enemy were repulsed." I can assure you, sir, this statement is in direct opposition to the fact. The service was effectually performed. We arrived with the British troops a few days after the Mahrattas had entered Rohilcund. We drove them over the Ganges. We followed them across that river, and remained on its banks until the swelling of the river rendered the return of the Mahrattas impracticable. I served that campaign under sir Robert Barker.

Let me, sir, earnestly recommend to your perusal, a history of the Rohillas, written by Charles Hamilton, esq. after the parliamentary acquittal of Mr. Hastings on the charge. Mr. H. unhappily is now no more. Intense application to a very laborious and useful translation of an Arabian work, "the Hedaya," or Commentary on the Mahomedan Law, proved fatal

to him. He undertook it under the orders and patronage of Mr. Hastings in Bengal, and lived but to complete it under the patronage of the directors in England. I will send you Mr. H.'s history; and from a perusal of it you will discover that in no one instance *that you follow Mr. Burke*, is your account correct.

Mr. Hamilton tells us "that about 20,000 Rohillas, with a very few of their most obnoxious leaders, were, by a particular stipulation, ordered to the westward of the Ganges; and marching out of their lines crossed that river under Ahmed Khan, Buxy, and other chiefs. These were the only inhabitants of Rohilcund, who were expelled from the country in consequence of the war. The Hindoo inhabitants consist of about 700,000, and were no otherwise affected by it than experiencing a change of masters, to which, in the course of the preceding revolutions, they had been frequently accustomed."

As I returned to the country this morning, where all my India books and papers are, I have gone carefully through the evidence given by sir Robert Barker, colonel Champion, and major Balfour, in the house of commons. Sir Robert Barker speaks positively as to the complete performance of the service on which we were sent. He speaks positively also, as to the Rohillas refusing to execute their part of the treaty after we had fully performed our part. He describes them thus:—"It is well known that neither promises, nor oaths, have been able to bind this treacherous sect of people to their engagements." The evidence of sir Robert Barker is that of a man of honour, a soldier, and a gentleman.

You say "that Mr. Hastings employed the power with which he was invested under a pernicious system, to the most pernicious purposes." You differ with me totally, and absolutely, as to our government being a blessing, and not a curse to the people of Hindostan; and you quote authorities to justify your conclusion. My authorities are the evidence of every gentleman of every party examined at the bar at Westminster Hall, during the trial of Mr. Hastings, including sir John Shore the present governor-general; lord Cornwallis, the late governor-general; and the most respectable civil and military servants of the company. Lord Cornwallis, who was examined in Westminster Hall, declared his belief "that Mr. Hastings was very much beloved by the people of Bengal in general; next, he declared it to be his belief, that the people of Bengal were happier, and their property better protected, than any other people in Hindostan."

We have now authentic histories from respectable natives, by which it appears that at all periods of the Mahomedan government, they cruelly oppressed and most severely punished the Zemindars, under an idea that they collected from the people more than they paid to government. In 1765, when we acquired the Dewannee, and up to 1772, Mahomed Reza Khan had the sole management of the revenues, except of Burdwan, Chittagong, and Midnapore, which were ceded to us by Cossim Ally Khan in 1761. The provinces were managed by the company's servants, who let them in farm to the best bidder, as Mahomed Reza Khan did Bengal. The directors hearing that their

provinces were infinitely more populous, and better managed, than Bengal under Mahomed Reza Khan; and having a suspicion that he had defrauded them of many millions, determined to remove him; and recommended to Mr. Hastings to let all the lands of Bengal *in farm*, as Burdwan was let. He did so, and the lands were let too high. Where Zemindars did not take them, they were allowed their *Moshaira*, or tenth; the proportion to which they were entitled, whether they are proprietors of the soil, as some contend, or officers of government, as others assert. Rectify your statement of the case of Mahomed Reza Khan. He never was *in prison* for a moment; nor was he ill used by Mr. Hastings; he *preserved* him.

As to Mr. Pitt, I have stated most correctly all that he has said relative to Mr. Hastings, in the instances to which I have alluded. In another that I have not mentioned, speaking of Mr. Hastings, he says, "He made the Mahratta peace at a time when the continuance of war would have proved absolute and inevitable ruin; and he completed it with an address and ingenuity, which did him immortal honour. May Mr. Pitt do the same with *France!*"

If in this letter, or in my printed remarks, I have expressed myself with freedom, be assured I have not meant to offend you personally. If you will calmly read over all that you have said of Mr. Hastings; if you will consider that the period you chose for publication was just *at that moment* that a court of justice was to decide upon the charges brought before them; and if you will consider that each mis-statement is

highly injurious to Mr. Hastings, then I am sure, as a fair and candid man, you must admit that I have taken no unwarrantable liberties.”

In a subsequent letter, closing the correspondence on this subject, major Scott Waring expressed himself in the following liberal terms :—“ I am much obliged and flattered by the attention which you have paid to the documents which I sent to you ; and I have so high an opinion of your candour and fairness, as to be convinced that after having perused all the materials relating to India, you will in the next edition of your History, or in a Continuation of it, do Mr. Hastings the justice to which you may think him fairly entitled ; and I have not a wish beyond that point.”

* * * * *

In consequence of the information imparted by major Scott, various corrections were made in the narrative, but without any change of opinion relative to the general policy of Mr. Hastings. As to the precise period of the original publication, the author had not the presumption to suppose that it would be deemed by the governor-general or his friends, as of the slightest importance. Out of about three hundred peers and prelates, twenty-nine only voted on the four questions submitted to their decision : and of these no more than eight pronounced Mr. H. guilty ; nor did even that number agree on any one point. In this respect, therefore, the ex-governor had great reason to be satisfied. With the sole exception of Mr. Burke, the opponents of Mr. H. were indeed far from desiring any severe sentence to be passed on a person whose services were, in many respects, acknowledged ; and

in the advantage of whose delinquencies, if advantage there was, the nation had participated. The positive instructions under which Mr. H. entered upon his administration were, "*that in all his deliberations and resolutions, he should make the safety and prosperity of Bengal his principal object; and fix his attention on the security of the possessions and revenues of the company.*" It followed therefore that the contrary system of ambition and aggrandisement uniformly acted upon by Mr. Hastings, demanded the censure and condemnation of the highest judicial authority, wholly unmixed with any unworthy or degrading motives of personal vengeance.

II.

EXTRACTS *from the Memoirs of* MARSHAL
ROCHAMBEAU.

DURING the winter of 1809-10, passed by the present writer in Devonshire, he was gratified by meeting at the town of Morton Hampsted, the late commander-in-chief at St. Domingo, general Rochambeau, then with other French officers in liberal confinement at that place. The general acknowledged without reserve that the war in St. Domingo had, on the ground of retaliation, been carried on with dreadful barbarity on both sides.

He severely reprobated Bonaparte's invasion of Spain, which he affirmed was universally disliked and disapproved in France. He observed that B. aspired to the title of Emperor of the *West* after the example of Charlemagne, whom it was his great ambition to

resemble. But so much jealousy was excited among the military, as well as the nation at large, by this project, which would have degraded France to the rank of a province, that he was compelled to relinquish it. The general mentioned that his father the marshal Rochambeau had written memoirs of the revolution, of which he politely tendered the perusal. As these memoirs have never appeared in English, and few copies of the original work have reached this country, some extracts from it may not be unacceptable.

Mémoires de Rochambeau.

Tome I.
p. 37-9.

LES nouvelles publiques m'apprirent l'évasion du roi et de la famille royale dans la nuit du 21 Juin. J'entendis l'instant d'après publier dans mon carrefour, à son de trompe, un décret de l'assemblée nationale, qui me chargeoit de la défense de toutes les frontières du royaume. Je me renfermai chez moi, frappé de consternation du tableau de toutes les suites que la fuite du roi alloit occasioner dans le royaume. C'est à cette époque que furent mises à découvert la foiblesse et la dissimulation qui, dans les dernières années du règne de ce malheureux prince, changèrent totalement son caractère, né franc et naturel. Quels reproches la postérité n'est-elle pas en droit de faire à tous ceux qui se chargèrent de l'exécution d'une mesure aussi mal conçue, et qui fut exécutée avec autant d'irrésolution que de foiblesse; dont les suites, dans toutes les chances, ne pouvoient qu'être désastreuses pour lui! Enfin, la situation du roi, étoit-elle

alors si désespérée, qu'il n'y eut plus à y employer d'autre remède que de manquer à tous les sermens qu'il venoit de renouveler de son propre mouvement ? Ce parjure inutile et volontaire le diffama dans le peuple ; et l'on peut dater de cette époque la perte de l'amour personnel que le gros de la nation avoit encore pour lui.

O France ! O ma patrie ! quelle est la puissance Tome II.
p. 15.
A.D. 1793. dans le monde qui eût pu résister, par la seule force de son tempérament, à toutes les secousses que tu as éprouvée dans le cours de cette année ! Trahison et perfidie de ministres et de généraux ; tout ce que la discorde a pu jeter de brandons dans le sein de la convention nationale ; guerre civile dans près de la moitié des départemens de l'intérieur ; guerre étrangère sur toutes les frontières, par la coalition presque générale de toutes les puissances de l'Europe ; douze armées à entretenir dans un mouvement perpétuel ; changemens de généraux, continuellement occasionnés par leur impéritie, leurs trahisons, ou leurs malheurs. O nation unique ! tu as démontré à tout l'univers ce que tu es capable d'exécuter quand des têtes mieux organisées dirigeront tes conseils et commanderont tes armées !

* * * * *

Après avoir brisé les efforts de la coalition presque générale de tous les rois de l'Europe, le directoire François avoit peut-être le désir de faire sentir sa puissance à la république la plus oligarchique et au gouvernement le plus inquisitoirel qui fût sur la surface du globe. La politique Vénitienne eut la mal-adresse de lui en fournir l'occasion. Après avoir affiché la neutralité dès l'entrée de l'armée Française en Italie, Ibid. p.
115.

elle servoit sous main les armées Autrichiennes ; mais retenue par les victoires et par la présence de Bonaparte au milieu de ses états de terre-ferme, elle attendoit sourdement le moment de le voir éloigné de son territoire. La prudence du sénat Vénitien l'abandonna à cette époque ; et sans calculer que la formidable armée de Bonaparte, soit victorieuse ou vaincue, ne tarderoit pas à revenir au milieu de ses états de terre-ferme, il fit insurger pendant la quinzaine de pâques une armée de vingt mille paysans, auxquels il joignit un corps d'esclavons, des généraux, et de l'artillerie qu'il envoya de Vénise. Ils attaquèrent presque en même temps les François disséminés dans leur différentes petites garnisons. Ils forcèrent celle de Vérone à se retirer dans les forts ; et exercèrent contr'eux, et même contre les malades de leurs hospitaux, des cruautés que rappelloient les anciennes Vêpres Siciliennes ; mais ils n'eurent pas le même succès. Bonaparte revenoit avec son armée triomphante. Il déclara la guerre à l'état de Vénise. Il s'empara de la capitale aussitôt que ses troupes s'y présentèrent ; et changea totalement la forme de son gouvernement.

* * * * *

Ibid p.
184.

Aussitôt que le premier consul eut pris les rênes du gouvernement, il écrivoit au roi d'Angleterre une lettre honnête et pressante pour le conjurer de mettre fin à une guerre si opiniâtre, et si dispendieuse ; offrant de son côté d'apporter toute la modération qui seroit compatible avec l'honneur de la nation Française ; en laissant au roi d'Angleterre le choix du lieu qui lui seroit le plus convenable pour entamer la négociation. Celui-ci ne lui fit de réponse que par son

ministre des affaires étrangères. Cette note du lord Grenville étoit équivoque, surtout évasive, et ne cherchoit qu'à gagner du tems pour obtenir de son parlement les immenses subsides qui lui étoient nécessaires pour la continuation de la guerre. Il ne trouvoit pas l'autorité du premier consul assez solide pour entamer avec lui une nouvelle négociation. Il parloit de l'ancienne dynastie en termes respectueux, et présentoit le désir de la voir rétablir sur le trône pour servir de base à un traité. Il ajoutoit cependant à cette proposition avancée foiblement, qu'il reconnoissoit les droits d'une nation puissante à changer son gouvernement; et que ce ne seroit pas sur l'article du rétablissement de la monarchie en France que les négociateurs insisteroient, lorsqu'ils y verroient un pouvoir assez solidement établi pour entrer en matière de concert avec ses alliés ; que cette assurance ne pouvoit lui être donnée que par le tems, et qu'il se croyoit obligé de continuer une guerre dans laquelle la fortune avoit si bien secondé ses armes.

Le ministre Anglois redoubla cependant toutes ses intrigues pour ranimer la guerre dans tout le Continent. Il fit voter par le parlement, avant de le proposer, un subside énorme à l'empereur pour le mettre en état de renforcer ses armées. La reine de Naples, accompagnée du Lord Nelson et de tous les Anglois qui lui faisoient une cour assidue, partit de Sicile, vint aborder en Toscane, d'où elle continua sa route pour Vienne, rallumant le long de son chemin les flambeaux de la discorde. Elle se servit du pouvoir de l'impératrice sa fille sur l'esprit de l'empereur, pour l'en-

Ibid p.
204.

gager à rompre la négociation qu'il avoit déjà fort avancée avec le premier consul de France. Aussitôt que l'armistice eut été déclaré générale, entre les armées respectives, l'empereur avoit envoyé à Paris le comte de St. Julien avec des pouvoirs pour traiter des préliminaires de la paix. Ce dernier, en trois séances de négociations, arrêta et signa ces préliminaires. Il partit pour Vienne, accompagné de Duroc, aide-de-camp du premier consul, pour avoir la ratification de l'empereur. Mais la cour de Vienne s'étant entièrement livrée aux nouvelles intrigues de la reine de Naples, et de la faction Angloise, Duroc fut retenu au quartier-général de l'armée Autrichienne par un ordre de l'empereur. On lui remit un contre-projet qui détruisoit celui que son ministre avoit signé à Paris.

Ibid. p.
262.

Une foule d'Anglois, au moment de la paix, se répandit dans nos départemens ; ils furent confondus de trouver les campagnes qu'ils croyoient en friche, parfaitement cultivée, les villes et villages rebâtis ; l'industrie et le commerce intérieur se restaurant avec rapidité : enfin, le commerce extérieur faisant de grands efforts pour renaître de ses cendres. Ils exagérèrent dans leurs rapports l'état florissant de la France ; et donnèrent des forces au parti de l'opposition pour renouveler les critiques les plus amères sur le traité d'Amiens.

Ibid. p.
273.

Il est pénible de voir que le ministère de cette nation, pour compléter ces mesures, se soit prêté à un plan de conspiration contre le premier consul, en employant des armes dont l'usage se toléroit à peine

chez les nations les plus barbares, et qui devoient être à jamais inconnues chez elle qui se vante d'être civilisée. Il est moins extraordinaire de voir employés dans ses séductions deux agens diplomatiques Anglois accrédités, l'un auprès de la cour de Bavière, l'autre de celle de Wurtemberg, déjà connus l'un et l'autre par leurs basses intrigues en Allemagne. Ils eurent l'infamie, sous le voile de leur caractère ministériel, de compromettre dans leur complot le duc d'Enghien, prince du sang du Bourbon, resté sur les bords du Rhin, dans les petits états du cardinal de Rohan, à quatre lieues de Strasbourg, réunis à ceux du margrave de Bade. Il est bien pénible aussi de voir engagé dans cette conspiration un général François, recommandable jusqu'alors par des services signalés rendus à son pays. Comment le général Moreau a-t-il pu ternir le cours de sa brillante carrière, en prêtant l'oreille aux premières ouvertures d'un complot aussi téméraire qu'odieux dans ses moyens d'exécution ? Mais ce qui est le comble de la démence est la duperie du ministère Anglois, qui se laissa tromper par l'adresse d'un ancien Jacobin nommé Mehée, échappé des prisons d'Oleron. Il se disoit président d'un comité de Jacobins séant à Paris, qui n'existoit que dans son imagination. Il s'attira la confiance par des intrigues, et dirigea sa correspondance avec l'ex-ministre de la marine Française, *Bertrand*, qui présidoit un comité d'émigrés séant en Angleterre. Ce fut sur les avis d'un espion double que les ministres de Londres formèrent un plan pour bouleverser la France et ses alliés dans l'Europe, par la destruction du premier consul et de son gouverne-

ment. Méhée faisoit part à la police de Paris de toutes leurs mesures. Ce fut sur ses dénonciations qu'elle fit arrêter tous ceux qui débarquèrent d'Angleterre sur la falaise de Beville en Normandie.

Ibid. p.
281.

Un mois après son sacre, l'empereur fit une démarche plus importante. Il écrivit au roi d'Angleterre pour le conjurer de faire cesser l'effusion du sang humain, dans une guerre qui n'avoit plus d'objet pour l'une et l'autre nation que la destruction plus ou moins longue, mais infaillible, des finances et du crédit respectifs ; que la France ayant suspendu tout son commerce extérieur, restoit invulnérable sur son continent ; que l'Angleterre couroit de plus grands risques, et s'assujétissoit à de triples dépenses dans l'étendue des terres et des mers qu'elle avoit à protéger. La réponse du ministre d'Angleterre fut plus *décente* que celle que le lord Grenville avoit donnée quelques années auparavant à Bonaparte, alors premier consul ; mais elle étoit à peu près aussi évasive, pour se donner le tems de consulter des puissances avec lesquelles il n'articuloit aucun traité ; mais seulement des négociations commencées et des connexions confidentielles.

Ibid. p.
330.

M. Fox, beaucoup plus porté à faire la paix de sa nation qu'à continuer une guerre dans laquelle ses alliés avoient éprouvé de si grands désastres, fit différentes ouvertures pour traiter de la paix à Paris. Les conditions principales en étoient déjà convenues lorsque M. Fox vint à mourir, pour le malheur des deux nations. Le lord Grenville resta le maître du

cabinet de Londres. Aussitôt qu'on y reçut la nouvelle du désaveu donné par l'empereur de Russie au traité qu'avoit signé M. Oubril, et des armemens que faisoit le roi de Prusse, mécontent du partage qui lui étoit réservé dans les confédérations dont il va être question, lord Lauderdale fut rappelé, et revint en Angleterre.

III.

LETTER *from the Emperor* NAPOLEON *to his Majesty King* GEORGE III. *dated January 2d, 1805.*

SIR AND BROTHER,

Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world that I fear none of the chances of war. It besides presents nothing that I need to fear. Peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your Majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable to silence all the passions, and listen

only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your Majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity. What can it hope from war? To form a coalition with some powers of the Continent? The Continent will remain tranquil. A coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France.—To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same.—To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed.—To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your Majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect, to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your Majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every *proof* of it, &c.

NAPOLEON.

ANSWER *addressed by Lord MULGRAVE to*
M. TALLEYRAND, January 14th, 1805.

His Britannic Majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object which his Majesty has more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His Majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may, at the same time, provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his Majesty feels it is impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the Continent with whom he is engaged in confidential connections and relations; and particularly the emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the Continent.

MULGRAVE

IV.

LETTER of the *Earl of YARMOUTH* from PARIS,
July 30th, A. D. 1806.

That the confidence of Mr. Fox in the earl of Yarmouth's diplomatic ability during the arduous negotiation carried on at Paris, A. D. 1806, was not misplaced, appears from the whole tenor of that nobleman's correspondence, and particularly from the letter dated July 30th, in reply to a dispatch bearing the name of Mr. Fox, and nominally addressed to him. But that great statesman, subsequent to his excellent letter of July 5th, had ceased, as is well known, to execute the functions of his office. This was fairly and honourably acknowledged by lord Howick in the house of commons; and the French government was too well informed to be deceived by the use of his name. This letter of lord Yarmouth, penned in vindication of his own conduct, contains so masterly a view of the state of Europe at that period, as to constitute an important historical document.

To Mr. Secretary Fox.

SIR,

I had the honour to receive your dispatch of the 25th instant late at night on the 28th, and next morning lost no time in asking for blank passports for a person fully instructed with the sentiments of his Majesty's government, whom it was their intention to join with me in the important commission of treating for peace. M. Talleyrand told me he must take the emperor's orders. I accordingly returned this day, when

that minister informed me that the emperor could consider this demand in no other light but that of unnecessary delay; because his Majesty's secretary of state was actually in possession of a blank passport, which would enable any person or persons to come to Paris without the loss of time occasioned by this demand; but that, *pour surcroit de facilités*, there could be no difficulty about giving more. I answered that I had no knowledge of this circumstance. M. Talleyrand said it was certain, because he had sent two entirely in blank, and that one only had been used, namely, that with which I returned.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to what I have already said in my former dispatches relative to the signature of the Russian treaty. Any inaccuracy in the statement of its contents, such as I was enabled to transmit them, may easily be accounted for by the circumstance of my not having seen the treaty itself, and by the unwillingness M. D'Oubril naturally felt to open himself to me on that subject. He informed me at the time, that he would send a copy to M. de Strogonoff, who would communicate it to his Majesty's ministers.

It is with pain, sir, proportioned to my zeal for his Majesty's service, and to the fair and honest conviction of my having done nothing which the peculiar and trying circumstances of the moment did not require from me, that I have learnt by the same dispatch, the expression of a wish that I had delayed the production of my full powers till I could know the impression which this event of the Russian treaty might produce in his Majesty's councils; and the apprehen-

sion that, by the producing them so soon after the signature of the Russian treaty, an impression might be created unfavourable to the farther progress of the negotiation.

If the question regarded only my own personal feelings, I should not think myself at liberty to allot to it so large a portion of a public dispatch. But it may not, I conceive, be useless, with a view to the conduct of the negotiation, that you should be apprized of some details which I have hitherto omitted dwelling upon, partly from the urgency of more important subjects, and partly from my desire not to trespass upon your attention to so great an extent. I trust, sir, that his Majesty will see in these details wherewithal to justify my conduct in the difficult situation in which I was placed.

The fate of Holland and Naples were settled before I was honoured with his Majesty's confidence. My conversation here with M. Talleyrand soon convinced me that these were only preludes to still greater changes in the system of Europe. I saw, at the same time, a great desire of negotiation before the final execution of some of the emperor's schemes should have removed any hope of its being attended with success.

This opinion, not preconceived or lightly taken up, but gradually formed from a variety of circumstances, was confirmed by the nature of the offers held out, unofficially indeed, but in such clear and unequivocal terms, that it was impossible to entertain any doubt of the intention of this government to adhere to them.

The point which of all others was the most essential, and that on which satisfaction was due to the

national honour and to that of his Majesty, Hanover, would, I was assured, be given up without restriction : for I did not then know we should be *asked* to allow the king of Prussia to obtain the sovereignty of some of the lesser principalities.

I received similar assurances about Malta and the Cape of Good Hope ; nor have I any reason to doubt, but that, before Russia had made her peace separately, these terms might have been obtained, and the treaty have had solely for its basis the *uti possidetis*, with the sole exception in our favour of Hanover restored ; and latterly, indeed, of some arrangements tolerable to all parties in exchange for Sicily.

M. Talleyrand held the same language to me with respect to Russia, which he had before held with regard to the affairs of Germany.—“ You have now been here a month : we have been willing to converse with you, to give you an insight into our views, and to communicate them to the British government. We told you that if you had the powers, and would enter into a negotiation, we would not sign the arrangement of Germany. A reasonable time was left for you to consult your government. We had no answer. The arrangement was signed ; *et nous n'en reviendrons jamais*. We now ask you, whether you will treat before Russia has signed, which will not pass two days ? ” It cannot be necessary to state my answer to such a proposition. I will only add, that the treaty with Russia was signed within the time mentioned, and then commenced the difficulty of my situation.

“ Switzerland,” I was told by the same authority, “ is on the eve of undergoing a great change. This

cannot be averted but by a peace with England; but still less can we alter, for any other consideration, our intention of invading Portugal. The army destined for that purpose is already assembling at Bayonne. This is for the determination of Great Britain."

But I confess, the point of all others the most decisive in inducing me to produce my full powers, was the language held respecting Prussia. "Prussia demands from us a declaration respecting Hanover. We cannot consent wantonly to lose the only ally France has had since the revolution. The declaration once made, *nous n'en pouvons nous retracter*. Would you have us break entirely with Prussia, when we cannot even say that Great Britain will negotiate with us? Are you here only with orders to delay our measures till the season of the year makes exertion impossible? Or *can* you treat? If so, is not the assurance we give you that Hanover, Malta, and the Cape shall not be contested, sufficient to induce you to do so? Must we lay before the British government our exact terms before they will even avow negotiation with so great a power as that of France? Or, shall we execute our other projects, as we did those in Holland and Naples?"

Undoubtedly, sir, conversations of this sort, confirmed even as they were by the events passing under my eyes, could never have induced me to commit his Majesty's confidential servants upon any point upon which I had not received their instructions, and which had left no time to receive them. But I did not think myself at liberty to shift from myself the responsibility thus thrown upon me, at the risk of seeing

Portugal and Switzerland share the same fate which Germany has just experienced; and Hanover confirmed to Prussia, until such time as his Majesty's arms should recover the possession of it.

The mode of proceeding of this government left me no alternative. Either to avow negotiation, or shut up every opening to it, was my only option.

I felt that I pledged his Majesty to nothing except the fact of negotiation, already privately known to every court in Europe.

I carefully forbore giving any written paper, or admitting even the possibility of any other basis than that of *uti possidetis*.

I have ascertained the real extent of the pretensions of France; and I did consider myself to have prevented a great evil at small expense, by having given time to yourself, and his Majesty's other confidential servants, to provide by the farther instructions you might judge proper, for the interest of the powers, thus for the moment at least saved from the grasp of France.

I persuade myself that the motives here detailed, upon which I acted at the moment, will place in a stronger light the difficulties of my position, and will, on farther consideration, obtain his Majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct which I thought myself obliged to hold in consequence.

His Majesty's ministers would have relieved me from much painful responsibility, if they had commanded me to proceed no farther, and wait the arrival of the person alluded to, and for whom I have the honour to enclose the necessary passport, which I have this moment received.

Mr. Goddard, whom a long residence in France, independent of his abilities and correct information on what has passed here, renders entirely able to give his Majesty's ministers every explanation they may wish for, is so good as to take this dispatch with him to England, where he is returning, at the end of his long captivity in this country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

YARMOUTH.

V.

ON THE RIGHTS OF THE NEUTRAL FLAG.

DECLARATION *of the EMPRESS of RUSSIA,*
A. D. 1780.

THE empress of all the *Russias* has so fully manifested her sentiments of equity and moderation, and has given such evident proofs, during the course of the war that she supported against the Ottoman Porte, of the regard she has for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of universal commerce, as all Europe can witness, that her conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality which she has displayed during the present war, justly inspired her with the fullest confidence that her subjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their industry, and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has, nevertheless, proved the contrary. Neither the above-

mentioned considerations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the subjects of her imperial majesty from being often molested in their navigation, and stopped in their operations by those of the belligerent powers. These impediments to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Russia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empress finds herself obliged, therefore, to set it free by all the means compatible with her dignity, and the well-being of her subjects: but before she puts this design in execution, and with a sincere intention to prevent any future infringements, she thought it but just to publish to all Europe the principles she means to follow, as the best adapted to prevent any misunderstanding, or any occurrences that may occasion it. Her imperial majesty does it with the more confidence, as she finds these principles coincident with the primitive right of nations, to which every people may appeal, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without disavowing the maxims they have adopted in their several treaties and public engagements. They are reducible to the following points:

I. That all neutral ships may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coasts of nations at war.

II. That the effects belonging to the subjects of the said warring powers shall be free in all neutral vessels, except contraband merchandize.

III. That the empress, as to the specification of the above-mentioned merchandize, adheres to what is mentioned in the X. and XI. articles of her treaty of

commerce with Great Britain, extending the terms of it to all the powers at war.

IV. That to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, it is only to be understood of one which is so completely guarded by the ships of the power that attacks it, and which are stationed there, that it is dangerous to any vessel to enter it.

V. That these principles serve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her imperial majesty, in publishing these particulars, does not hesitate to declare, that for maintaining them, and for protecting the honour of her flag, the security of the trade and navigation of her subjects, she has equipped the greatest part of her maritime forces. This measure will not, however, influence the strict neutrality she does observe, and will observe, so long as she is not provoked, and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever honour, interest, and necessity may require.

In giving this solemn assurance with the usual openness of her character, the empress cannot do other than promise herself that the belligerent powers, convinced of the sentiments of justice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accomplishment of these salutary purposes, so manifestly tending to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of those at war; in consequence of which, her imperial majesty will furnish her commanding officers with instructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primi-

tive laws of nations, and so often adopted in their conventions.

Dated at Petersburg, April, A. D. 1780.

In discussing the *rights* of the *neutral flag*, it may be proper to premise, that the famous maritime code, originally framed by the flourishing commercial states bordering on the Mediterranean, stiled *Il consolato del mare*, subsisted in full force in Europe, or rather in the south of Europe, for in the north its authority was never recognized, from about the end of the twelfth to that of the sixteenth century: from the last-mentioned period it gradually though slowly sunk into disrepute.

According to the fundamental principles of this constitution, an enemy's property found on board a neutral ship is liable to confiscation; and the right of search was supposed and allowed to be the necessary consequence, or concomitant, of the right of seizure.

Schlegel's
Visitation
of Neutral
Vessels,
p. 5.

Queen Elizabeth was one of the first potentates who, in defiance of this antient and established constitution, reclaimed the rights of the neutral flag. In the year 1596, several English vessels which had on board property belonging to certain citizens of Antwerp, subjects of the king of Spain, were detained by the Dutch. But the queen insisted on restitution being made, and also reparation for the insult.

Busch,
p. 145.

It was England, also, who concluded perhaps the earliest treaty in which the principle of the antient code was formally and expressly departed from, viz. that with Portugal in 1642: and since that period to the year 1780, according to an eminent writer on

ibid.

maritime jurisprudence, thirty-five commercial treaties have been concluded on principles more or less favourable to neutral rights, while two only can be found during that interval framed upon the harsh and unqualified maxims established by the *consolato del mare*.

In 1656, England being at war with Spain, the admiralties of Amsterdam and Rotterdam issued orders to their commanders to show all honour of salutes to English men-of-war, and suffer them to speak with the vessels under their convoy, and to see their papers; but if they offered to visit, they should oppose it. And De Ruyter being met in the channel by some armed ships of England which insisted upon search, he did accordingly oppose and prevent the same, falsely declaring that he had no Spanish property on board.

Croke's
Remarks,
p. 104.

Croke on
Schlegel,
p. 104-5.

In the same year, a Dutch fleet of merchantmen under convoy, and bound for Spain, coming into Torbay, captain Pley, an English officer, sent his boats to board them. The Dutch commander at first refused: at length he consented to a slight search, but being farther pressed, knowing that he had enemy's property on board, he hoisted the red flag, fired a gun of defiance, and sailed away.

During the war between the English and Dutch republics, queen Christina of Sweden published a declaration respecting convoys, in which she orders the convoying ships, if they meet a warlike fleet, to give them reasonable satisfaction; but as for the rest, they shall by all possible ways decline that they or any of the convoy shall be searched.

At the eve of the revolution war, A. D. 1688, Christian V, king of Denmark, published an ordinance prohibiting, in the most express terms, any ships carrying the royal flag from suffering any foreign vessels to board, visit, or even to see the papers of any merchantmen under their protection; and that such attempt should be opposed to the utmost of their power. In the same war, the celebrated Puffendorf being consulted on the question of free navigation by his friend Groningius, A. D. 1692, answered thus:—"If the kings of the North can maintain their commerce with France by having their merchant vessels sufficiently escorted by ships of war, provided that there is nothing contraband on board, nobody will be found to find fault with them; the law of humanity and of equity between different countries not extending so far as to require that a nation should deprive itself of its profit in favour of another." This is a direct condemnation of the principle on which the "*Il consolato del mare*" was founded.

In the war of the succession, all the powers of Christendom being either engaged as parties in the grand alliance, or hostilely disposed towards France, there was little scope for any complaint of the violation of neutral rights. But in the ensuing general war of 1740, Frederic king of Prussia caused an energetic memorial to be presented to the court of London, in which the rights of neutral flags were for the first time completely discussed. This memorial was answered with great ability by the British government; but the general impression throughout Europe was in favour of Prussia.

Schlegel,
p. 10.

Schlegel,
Visitation,
&c. p. 85.

In the seven years' war, which commenced in 1756, the disputes, or rather the quarrels, which took place between England and Holland on the subject of neutral rights, were public and notorious: scarcely could the efforts of the father and daughter prevent an open rupture. In the year 1762, when the Dutch commander Dedel had repulsed by force an attempt to search the merchant ships under his convoy, the states-general gave their express sanction to his conduct by an ordonnance published September 20th in the same year.

The unbounded depredations of the English cruizers during the next, or American war, were such as at length induced the empress of Russia, at the suggestion, as was believed, of the crowned philosopher of Sans Souci, to promulgate her famous project of the armed neutrality, which was acceded to by all the great continental powers, conformably to the declaration from St. Petersburg, A. D. 1780.

In the war which ensued between Russia and Sweden, Gustavus III. did indeed with disgraceful inconsistency issue orders to the Swedish cruizers wholly incompatible with the principles he had so recently avowed. But the more magnanimous Catharine would not be deterred from the observance of them, even by the example of her enemy. The XIIIth Article of her regulation for cruizers, dated December 31, 1787, expressly states, "that when neutral merchant ships are convoyed by a ship of war of their nation, the Russian ships of war ought not in any manner to address themselves to the merchant vessels, but only to the commander of the escort; and that if he declares that there is not on board any merchandise contraband in

war, they ought to be content with this declaration, without requiring visitation.

In the same manner, the states-general, on taking part in the American war, in their ordonnance of the 26th of January, 1781, enjoined, "that in the case of meeting neutral vessels sailing under convoy, if the commanding officer declares that he is perfectly certain that the ships under convoy are not laden with articles of contraband in war, credit shall be given to that declaration, and that in consequence no visit shall be required."

The general peace of 1783 left untouched the subject of the armed neutrality, and the principles on which it was founded remained in full force. Subsequent to the French revolution, the constituent assembly even went so far as to propose the abolition of letters of marque; but to this England would not accede. Yet it can scarcely be denied, that on general principles of equity and humanity, wars should be strictly national; and that unoffending individuals should not be made the victims of the personal or political quarrels of princes. Nor can injuries of this nature, inflicted on the enemy, tend to any solid national advantage.

"In the commencement of the ensuing war, the English ministry," says M. Schlegel, "entertained the idea of starving a great people, in order to make those who oppressed them renounce their ambitious projects." Visitation of Neutral Vessels, p. 10.

"England," says another able foreign writer, "having for some years remained a tranquil spectator of the internal commotions of France, no sooner declared war against that country, than she endeavoured to impli- Hellfried's Survey of the Attack on Denmark, p. 125.

cate all other nations in the contest, without any reference to their situation, internal condition, and external relations. Denmark and Sweden, however, firmly maintained the neutrality upon which they had determined. England then adopted all the violent measures to which former examples and confident superiority could prompt her. She *again* put in practice the barbarous system of starving her opponent. She brought forward her pretensions to interdict the trade of neutrals to every port; and whole tracts of coast were, by an order in council, declared to be in a state of blockade, although they neither were in reality, or could be blockaded: and finally, her admiralty court assumed the position, that a neutral vessel could not carry other goods than the natural produce or manufactures of its own country. England attempted to persuade or to compel neutral powers to acknowledge and to obey those and other violent laws; pretending that the war with France differed from all other contests, and that it was the duty of every lawful government to co-operate in the defence of all. A requisition to this effect was presented by the English ambassador at Copenhagen, on the 17th of July, 1793. England, in the mean time, pursued her arbitrary conduct with unabated vigour. During the short space between February and August 1793, 189 Danish vessels were detained and sent into English ports, of which 118 were laden with corn and provisions."

Russia also, during the war with France, though still professing to maintain the general principles of the convention of St. Petersburg (A. D. 1780), suspended the exercise of them, declaring "that all general rules

should yield to the superior object of overthrowing *regicide republicanism*."

These violences necessarily produced measures of retaliation on the part of France; and the French convention, by their decree of 29 Nivose de l'an 6, i. e. January 18, 1798, went the extreme length of subjecting every neutral vessel to confiscation, if the smallest quantity of English goods was found on board. The naval and commercial war from this time forward was carried on by both nations with unexampled and implacable rancour, mutually injurious, but in the end incomparably the most so to Great Britain

The chief object of contest between England and the Baltic, and indeed all other powers, did not relate to the visitation on the high seas of merchant ships in general, but to the visitation of those which were placed under the protection of a convoy, expressly appointed by the government of the country to which they respectively belonged. The right of visitation is admitted by the theory of all writers, and the practice of all governments. Even Hubner, "the great cham-
pion of neutral privileges," as he is stiled by sir William Scott, allows this without hesitation. "Nous ne nions pas que les nations belligérantes n'aient le droit de visiter convenablement les navires neutres en pleine mer pour s'assurer de leur état. Ce droit est une suite nécessaire du véritable droit de la guerre, que l'on ne sauroit contester aux peuples qui la font. Pour ne pas confondre les amis avec les ennemis, il est essentiel que les nations belligérantes sachent sûrement si les navires que leurs vaisseaux de guerre ou armés en course rencontrent en pleine mer appartiennent à ceux-ci, ou à ceux-là."

Judgment
on the
Swedish
Convoy.
Hubner,
I. pt. i.
ch. 8.

But it is contended by this great jurist, and the writers on the same side, that *all* the treaties which speak of visitation at sea *suppose* that it has for its object merchant vessels not convoyed; and that among the great number of commercial treaties which have been concluded in modern times, *not one* makes mention of this right relatively to vessels escorted by ships of war. "The power," says Schlegel, "which should put its hand to such a stipulation, would consent to its own shame. In granting to its subjects an escort for the protection of their commerce, it would leave them a prey to all the avarice of privateers; and to this baseness it would add that of making its own marine a silent witness of their insults. As the benefit of convoy is not granted but to those who are proved, and recognized to be perfectly regular, it would acknowledge its incompetence relatively to its own subjects, or what would be more disgraceful still, that it does not merit any confidence in its public conduct."

The English jurists themselves have not ventured to assert that this point of right is by the law or practice of nations clearly and indisputably determinable in their favour, but have recourse to logical deductions and inference. "The belligerent, it is said, cannot be obliged without his own consent to abide by any particular mode of satisfaction. *If* the law of nations prescribes a search, it *must* mean an effectual search. *If* the cruizer was confined to any one mere formal examination, the object of the search would be completely defeated, whenever those formal proofs were falsified. The governors of a country *may* lend their

Visitation
of Neutral
Vessels,
p. 71-2.

Croke's
Remarks
on Schlegel.

aid to a fraud; and *if* this pretension is admitted, the petty republics of Ragusa, or St. Marino, might cover any collusion by the sanction of their respective flags."

Sir William Scott, judge of the high court of admiralty, in pronouncing sentence of condemnation in the famous cause of the Swedish ship *Maria*, speaks of the question at issue as both novel and important; and which he had, therefore, taken time to weigh fairly and maturely. "It is high time," said he, "that the legal merit of such a pretension should be disposed of one way or other. It has been for some years past preparing in Europe. It is extremely fit that it should be brought to the test of a judicial decision. And he had weighed with the most anxious care the several facts, and the learned arguments which had been applied to them." M. Schlegel, on the other hand, challenges this learned judge "to allege any treaty, any law, either of his own country or foreign, which authorizes the visiting of vessels under convoy. It has not," continues this able writer, "been more possible for him to cite, among the great number of writers who have treated on this part of the law of nations, a single authority which justifies it."

Visitation,
&c. p. 77.

Was it, then, to *force* the recognition of so odious, so problematic a right, such as a British judge pronouncing sentence in favour of the claims of his own nation, in opposition to the rest of Christendom, hesitated to declare perfectly clear and reasonable, that Great Britain can stand justified in the opinion of an impartial posterity in sending fire and sword into the bosom of peaceful countries, disposed to give every

proof of friendship to Britain, short of relinquishing what they have ever regarded, and insisted upon, as an indubitable as well as an invaluable right and privilege.

Discourse
on the
Conduct,
&c. p. 9.

In the able pamphlet published A. D. 1757, by Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards earl of Liverpool, "On the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain in respect to Neutral Nations," he fairly says, "It is well known that her conduct in this respect hath not been universally approved; and that some neutral nations think they have a right to carry in their vessels unmo-
lest the property of our adversaries." It would have been still more in point to acknowledge, that, at the period of his publication, the conduct of the British government was not approved by any state in Europe; and that all the neutral nations resisted the claim of searching merchant ships sailing under regular convoy. But though the great minister then at the helm resolutely persevered in this practice, he never thought of sending fleets to destroy the capitals of those countries which as perseveringly controverted this doubtful right. He was satisfied with acting upon a principle, which he left it to the jurists and civilians to vindicate.

Next to the violence of searching vessels under convoy, the extension of the definition of "contraband of war" to naval stores, appears to have given the highest offence to the neutral, or at least to the northern nations. "That tar, pitch, and hemp, going to the enemies' use, are liable to be seized as contraband in their own nature, cannot," says sir William Scott, "I conceive, be doubted under the *modern law of nations*; though formerly, when the hostilities of Europe

were less naval than they have since become, they were of a disputable nature." But the northern powers, of whom these were the staple commodities, could not be expected to recognize the validity of this *modern law*, or rather of this modern practice, of a single nation, arrogating the authority of all.

In the interesting account transmitted to us by a great man, the lord commissioner Whitlocke, of the commercial negotiation between England and Sweden in the year 1656, during the protectorate of Cromwell, who certainly was not of a temper tamely to relinquish any just national right, and England being then at war with Spain, we find the following passages:—"February 17th, Fiennes, Strickland, and I, proceeded in the treaty at the ambassador's house. We had long debates touching contraband goods, in which last were inserted by the council, hemp, pitch, tar, &c. The ambassador said, 'that if they would add copper and iron, it would take in all the commodities of his master's dominions.'"

"April 8th, the commissioners went to the Swedish ambassador's house, where the articles of the projected treaty were read, conformably to the resolves of the council. The ambassador observed, 'that the specification of contraband goods did contain in it pitch and tar, hemp, flax, and sails. These were the great commodities of his master's countries, *and they were never yet in any treaty made with Sweden allowed as contraband goods*; that in the treaty with the lord Whitlocke, at Upsal, it would by no means be hearkened to, as he very well knew.'" The lord commissioner Whitlocke confirmed this by saying, "that at Upsal,

Whitlocke's
Memorials,
p. 640.

when mention was made by him of those commodities to be contraband goods, both the old chancellor Oxenstierne, and his son the now chancellor, would by no means debate on that point, saying, it was not to be mentioned."

Whitlocke, in the course of the conference, remarked, "that he had not found or heard of any law of nations which did define contraband goods; that the word *contraband* came of the old French word *ban*, which signifies an edict or proclamation; and contraband is as much as to say *contra edictum*, which is agreed upon by the nations concerned." The lord Fiennes said, "that in our late wars with the Dutch, they did by public proclamation forbid the bringing of these and other commodities to England, and did seize upon them if they found any bringing hither." The ambassador said "it was true that the Dutch did make such a proclamation, but that no nation did ever acknowledge the same to be binding; and that the Swedes did at that time, in spite of their proclamation, bring those commodities into England; and it would be hard now to restrain the people of Sweden from trading into Spain."

In a succeeding conference, Strickland again mentioned the prohibition of Holland; and the ambassador replied, "that such prohibition was never submitted to by any nation that could be strong enough to resist it."

May 13th. "We had a long debate with his excellency upon the former points. The ambassador said, 'it was known to the lord Whitlocke that in Finland it was their chief commodity, which if they

should not vend yearly, the country could not subsist, and the inhabitants would think themselves undone.'” At a conference held at Whitehall between Fiennes, Whitlocke, and Thurloe, “ Whitlocke did advise, as a thing in his judgment most fit, not to send away the Swedish ambassador with any just cause of discontent to him and his master. Concerning pitch, and tar, and hemp, and flax, to be contraband goods during the war with Spain, the secretary Thurloe held it reasonable; but Whitlocke differed from him therein. They were the great commodities of the kingdom of Sweden; and although the Swedes *were* forbidden to carry them, other nations would certainly supply Spain therewith.” Both Fiennes and Thurloe at length agreed in adopting a conciliatory policy; but the former shewed himself “ more inclinable to the particulars of satisfaction recommended by Whitlocke.”

As to the new definition of the term *contraband*, to which sir William Scott gives the plausible appellation of “ the *modern* law of nations,” it appears to have originated in a famous decision of the lords of appeal in this kingdom, in what the learned judge stiles “ the memorable case of the *Meds Good-hielpe*, A. D. 1750, by which pitch and tar, the actual produce of Sweden, and seized on board a Swedish vessel bound to a French port, were declared to be contraband and subject to confiscation.” However, upon what the same great authority calls “ a principle of *indulgence* to the native produce and ordinary commerce of that country, those commodities have since been deemed subject only to the milder rights of pre-occupancy and pre-emption.”

A more difficult question than that respecting the rights of the neutral flag can scarcely come under discussion; but if this "famous decision" was a just decision, the neutral nations can have no rights. The *Il consolato* code, though partially modified by treaties and relaxed by custom, was still the highest prescriptive authority in Europe, till the almost universal accession of the continental powers to the convention of St. Petersburg, A. D. 1780, substituted a new and milder system, more favourable to the general interests of civilization and humanity: and though it could not be reasonably expected that Great Britain, from a principle of disinterested benevolence, should relinquish the advantages attached to her maritime superiority, it seemed peculiarly incumbent upon her at this crisis to re-consider the general question in connexion with the immutable principles of justice, rather aiming at an equitable compromise, than by violence to compel all other nations to receive the law from her alone. This compromise, subsequent to the attack on Copenhagen, A. D. 1801, was actually effected by the treaty concluded with Russia in the month of June the same year, under the enlightened auspices of lord St. Helens.

The points conceded by Russia in this convention, to which Sweden and Denmark after a short interval became parties by a formal accession, were as follows:—

I. That enemy's property embarked on board neutral ships shall be liable to confiscation.

II. That the right of searching merchant ships, even navigating under convoy, shall be recognized.

III. That no ship of war shall, on any pretext, re-

sist the detention of a merchant ship under its convoy by a belligerent ship of war.

IV. That to entitle any vessel to be considered as the property of the country whose flag it bears, the captain of the ship, and at least half the crew, must be natives of it.

V. No direct commerce, carried on in neutral vessels from the colonies to the mother-country of an hostile power, or *vice versâ*, shall be entitled to the privileges of neutrality.

VI. These stipulations shall be regarded as permanent, and shall serve as a constant rule to the contracting powers in matters of commerce and navigation.

From these concessions, it might seem that Russia had relinquished all that she had previously contended for. But, on the contrary, the points conceded by Great Britain were equally important and no less equitable:—

I. It was agreed not to comprise, in the definition of enemy's property, the merchandize of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the countries at war, acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and transported on their account.

II. That arms and ammunition only shall be considered as contraband, and that all other articles shall pass freely under the protection of the neutral flag.

III. That no port shall be regarded as blockaded, except where, by the disposition of the blockading ships, there is an evident danger in entering.

IV. That the right of searching merchant ships navigating under convoy shall not extend to privateers

or letters of marque, but only to ships of the royal navy.

V. Every ship unjustly detained shall receive a full compensation for damages; and the commander of the belligerent vessel shall farther be liable to punishment for every act of violence, as the case may require.

VI. The subjects of the neutral power are to enjoy the same advantages and facilities in their commerce relative to the belligerents, as are enjoyed by the most favoured nation, and particularly by the states of America.

The object of this celebrated convention, as expressed in the preamble, was not merely an equitable arrangement of recent differences, but “an invariable determination of *principles* respecting the *rights of neutrality*.” Were the claims of Great Britain established in their full extent, a sloop, a cutter, or even a letter of marque, might insist on the right of searching a fleet of merchantmen under protection of the most powerful squadron. On the other hand, could the presence of a frigate exempt from *all* search, every species of fraud might be committed with impunity, and “the Ragusan flag” secure the whole commerce of France.

“This convention,” says the Danish writer Hellfried, “occupied, as it were, a medium between the principles of the armed neutrality in their fullest extent, and the utmost limits of the demands of England. Thus the differences respecting the neutral system appeared to be settled by reciprocal forbearance for the future on a firm basis; and at the

commencement of the war of 1803, England herself seemed desirous of adhering to the agreement with the northern powers. This tranquillity lasted to the year 1805, when the British government began a new series of violations and injuries to neutral trade and navigation. English ships of war even attempted to extend the right of search to the ships of war of other nations. An endeavour to obtain justice or relief from the courts of appeal was attended with an enormous expense, that would consume both ship and cargo. Whole tracts of the hostile coast were again considered and treated as fully blockaded; and thus the system which England pursued against neutrals, reached the acme of its violence. In October 1807, Russia declared the principles of the neutral code of 1780 to be again in full force, since Great Britain had herself violated the conventional limitations, and brought things back to a state of nature."

Vide Hellfried's Political Survey, pp. 146-152.

N. B. The above remarks are reprinted from the Appendix to the former volumes of this History, but with additions chiefly relative to the convention of St. Petersburg, A. D. 1801.

VI.

DECLARATION of the *Danish Government*, August 1807.

ALL Europe is acquainted with the system which Denmark, during fifteen years of warfare and commotion, has pursued with uniform perseverance. The sole object of all her efforts and wishes has been

strictly to maintain a candid and impartial neutrality, and scrupulously to fulfil all the duties attached thereunto. The Danish government in its relations and connexions with other states, has never lost sight of that simplicity which was inseparable from the purity of its intentions and its love of peace, in which it cannot be suspected ever to have varied. Providence had hitherto blessed its endeavours. Without injury to or cause of reproach from the other powers, Denmark had succeeded in preserving with each a good understanding; and if circumstances have from time to time occasioned reclamations or discussions on the part of the belligerent powers, they have always originated in that impartiality in her conduct and rigorous principles, which they have served more fully to demonstrate. This state of peace and security has been suddenly annihilated.

The English government, after having by a shameful supineness, betrayed the interests of its allies, who were engaged in a struggle as important as the issue of it was uncertain, has suddenly developed all its power to surprise and attack a neutral and peaceful state, against which it had not even the shadow of complaint. The execution of the plan of invading Denmark, united with Great Britain by bonds as antient as they were sacred, has been prepared with as much secrecy as promptitude. Denmark saw the British forces approach her shores without even a suspicion that they were to be employed against herself. The isle of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territory insulted and violated, before the court of London had by a single word declared its hostile intentions. This hostility,

however, soon became evident; but Europe will with difficulty believe what it is about to learn. A project the basest, the most violent and atrocious, that has ever been conceived, is found to have originated alone in a pretended information, or rather in the vague report of an attempt, which, according to the English ministry, was about to be made to inveigle Denmark into engagements hostile to Great Britain. Grounding their actions on this hypothesis, which the slightest discussion would have proved false, and founded alone on bare supposition, the English government declared in the most peremptory manner to the court of Copenhagen, that in order to secure its own interests, and provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war, or a close alliance with Great Britain: and what kind of alliance did they dare to offer?—an alliance, the first guarantee of which, as a pledge of the subjection of Denmark, was to deliver up all her ships of war to the British government. The alternative offered admitted not of hesitation. This overture, as injurious in its offers as in its menaces, equally insulting in its manner as in its grounds, precluded discussion. The most justifiable and rooted disdain naturally prevailed over every other consideration. Placed between danger and dishonour, the Danish government had no choice. War commenced. Denmark does not deceive herself as to the danger or losses with which this war threatens her. Attacked in the most unexpected and dishonourable manner, exposed in an isolated province, nearly cut off from all means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she cannot flatter herself with escaping a very

material injury. Unblemished honour still remains for her to defend, as well as that esteem which she flatters herself she has deserved from the powers of Europe by her upright conduct: and she discovers more glory in the resistance of one who sinks beneath superior force, than in the easy triumph of those who abuse it. Far from dreading, she proudly anticipates the judgment of Europe on this new contest. Let impartial cabinets decide, whether there existed for England that political necessity, those motives of safety, to which she has not hesitated to sacrifice without remorse a state which has neither offended or provoked her. Firm in an upright conscience, confiding in God, and the love and devotion of brave and loyal nations united under a mild sceptre, the Danish government trusts that it will be able to acquit itself without weakness of the hard and painful task that honour and necessity have imposed upon it. Considering herself entitled to rely on the interests and justice of the cabinets of Europe, Denmark hopes to experience the effects thereof more particularly on the part of those august sovereigns whose intentions and engagements have served to give colour to the most crying act of injustice, and whose offers, purposing to present to the English government the means of forwarding a general pacification, were not able to divert the latter from committing an atrocious deed, which even in England every noble and generous mind will disown; a deed which compromises the character of a virtuous sovereign, and sullies for ever the annals of Great Britain.

VII.

Prince STAREMBERG's Narrative,

A. D. 1807—8.

SUBSEQUENT to the earnest though ineffectual attempt of the court of Vienna to mediate a peace between France and England, at the close of the year 1807, prince Staremborg, ambassador from the Emperor Francis II. in London, on his departure, January 1808, put into the hands of some of his friends the following concise and candid narrative of the negotiation.

* * * * *

On the 16th or 17th Nov. (1807), prince Staremborg received, by a flag of truce from France, dispatches from count Stadion, the secretary of state for foreign affairs at Vienna, forwarded from Paris by count Metternich, the Austrian minister at the court of France, with the avowed knowledge, and at the express desire and concurrence of Bonaparte, desiring prince Staremborg immediately to propose the mediation of Austria in a peace between France and England—the restitution to Denmark of her ships, or indemnification for the outrage committed on her; and upon non-compliance, or a decided unwillingness to listen to these proposals, prince Staremborg and his whole mission to leave England immediately, declaring Austria at war with her—the flag of truce to wait prince Staremborg's orders, and to carry back the answer. Prince Staremborg, from his long residence in this country, acquaint-

ed with its national character and with its national prejudices, and from his well-known public opinions, as well as private friendships, earnestly desiring a continuation of amity between Austria and England, endeavoured to promote it by the only means which the positive orders of his court left at his disposal—that of paving the way for a negotiation between this country and France.

For this purpose, and with these intentions, he detained the Austrian messenger, but sent back the flag of truce, that he might avoid being obliged to ask of ministers, or having the air of obliging them to give him a positive answer in any definite time. In his intercourse with Mr. Canning, while adhering to the general tenor of his instructions, he most cautiously shunned any strong terms, any offensive words which might have blinded the eyes of national pride towards national interest. On this account particularly, he avoided any mention of the restitution of the Danish ships, conceiving that the interests of Denmark would be best settled, and indeed could only be settled, at a general peace. But, earnest in his wishes to conduce in any manner to this most desirable end, he specifically offered Mr. Canning either to communicate to the court of France any preliminary points, any basis, any wishes the English ministry might have relative to the first opening of a negotiation; *or* to signify to France from them, that they were ready to receive any reasonable preliminary proposals that France would offer them; *or* finally, to be the bearer himself of any overture on their part to Bonaparte, to prepare the way for our own negotiators, and in short, to use his

own words, "de recevoir le premier soufflet," if one was indeed intended.

Mr. Canning's answer was a mere trite repetition of old diplomatic phrases, couched in the hackneyed words of office, and just as applicable to an intended declaration of war as to any indication of a wish to make peace. This answer was dispatched by prince Staremberg to count Stadion at Vienna, but sent by way of Paris to count Metternich, avowedly to be subjected to the eyes and to the decision of Bonaparte. Before the Austrian messenger reached Paris, Bonaparte was at Milan, whither count Metternich's messenger followed him. This occasioned a delay of a fortnight in the return of the courier to prince Staremberg, from whence the friends of peace began to entertain some faint hopes, as prince Staremberg had in the mean time, as he conceived, prevailed with Mr. Canning, that, provided France transmitted any project, he would send a counter-project.

At last, on the 30th December (1807), arrived the dispatches brought by count Meir, an Austrian Pole attached to the Austrian mission at Paris, in which count Metternich re-asserts to prince Staremberg his former persuasion that Bonaparte is really desirous of peace; and sends him M. Champagny's letter to himself (count Metternich) written under the immediate eye, if not the immediate dictate of Bonaparte. Along with these dispatches came the *Moniteur*, containing the notes upon the reply of the court of London to the Russian declaration, which *Moniteur* was given to count Metternich by Bonaparte himself at two o'clock in the morning, expressly desiring him to send it to

England, and let it be translated and published in the newspapers.

The letter of Champagny to count Metternich says, after praising the moderation and good intentions of prince Staremborg, "that the emperor of France sees with regret that the English ministers '*ont recours à de vieilles phrases diplomatiques pour le cacher la vérité.*' But that notwithstanding, to prevent all doubt of the emperor's intentions, and his wishes for peace, he gives full powers to prince Staremborg to grant passports to whomsoever he pleases coming from England; and desires him, '*pour abrégér les détails inutiles,*' to express his willingness immediately to receive plenipotentiaries at Paris, to treat directly with England of a general peace, empowering prince Staremborg to facilitate, by every means that depended upon him, the beginning of a negotiation." Prince Staremborg, therefore, again offered to convey to France any preliminary notice or enquiry, to which our ministers might desire to receive an answer before any further steps were taken.

In reply to this direct decided offer of negotiation from France, of which prince Staremborg was merely the organ, certainly of all the foreign ministers remaining here the one known to be the most attached to the interests and views of this country, and so frank in his expressions of this attachment, as even to have drawn upon himself from the present ruler of France a desire expressed in no friendly guise, that he should leave Paris within a given time, during his last visit there on his return from Vienna in 1802.

Mr. Canning's answer to this direct and decided

invitation of France to negotiate, is before the public. Prince Staremberg, in his letter to count Metternich accompanying Mr. C.'s answer, laments the infatuation of the English ministry as to the true interests of the country, in which he does not conceal from him that a great part of that country still participates ; and expresses a last wish rather than any expectation, that Bonaparte, as a farther proof of his real desire for peace, might be induced to propose a basis to this country.

The courier who carried this dispatch to Paris was not expected back till the 22d or 23d January (1808). He arrived in the forenoon of the 18th, having left Paris only on the morning of the 16th. The orders that he brought for prince Staremberg immediately to leave this country, and the correspondence that ensued, are now all published.

It is to be observed, that prince Staremberg never condescended to amuse ministers with idle and futile reasons for the court of Austria's going to war with England. He knew and felt, no one more severely, that unfortunate circumstances had placed his country under the control of France. Publicly employed by that country, he could not, whatever his feelings, attempt to defy like Almansor, single-handed, the armies of Bonaparte ; but he has proved himself most anxious to concur in restoring the exhausted powers of Austria, by a continuation of peace ; and to be the means of communicating the same blessing to his almost adopted country, England.

VIII.

STATE OF SPAIN,

A. D. 1808.

The ensuing documents exhibit in full view the confusion, imbecility, and infatuation pervading the court of Madrid in the spring of 1808; leading to, and almost inviting, the consequent invasion of the country and usurpation of the government by the emperor Napoleon, then in the zenith of his greatness.

DECREE of DON CARLOS IV, *King of Spain*, dated
from *Aranjuez*, March 18, 1808.

As I intend to command my army and navy in person, I have thought proper to release Don Manuel Godoy, prince of the peace, from the employs of generalissimo and admiral, and give him leave to withdraw whither he pleases. You are herewith informed of it, and will communicate it to whom it concerns.

To Don Francis Gill.

DECREE of CARLOS IV, *King of Spain*, addressed to the
People from *Aranjuez*, and countersigned by Don Pedro Cevallos, *Secretary of State*.

My beloved subjects,—Your generous agitation in these circumstances is a fresh proof of the sentiments of your hearts; and I, who love you as a tender father, take the earliest opportunity to console with you in the

distressed situation in which we are placed. Be tranquil, know that the army of my dear ally the emperor of the French traverses my kingdom with ideas of friendship and peace. Its object is to march to the points which are threatened with the danger of a descent by the enemy; and the junction of my life-guards has no other object than to protect my person, and they are not intended to accompany me on a voyage which malice endeavoured to represent as necessary. Surrounded by the unshaken loyalty of my armed subjects, of which I have received such unquestionable proofs, what have I to fear? And should any imperious necessity require it, could I doubt of the assistance which their generous bosoms offered me? But no such necessity will ever be witnessed by my people. Spaniards, allay your fears! Conduct yourselves as you have hitherto done towards the troops of the ally of your good king. In a few days you will see peace and tranquillity restored; your hearts and minds enjoying the happiness which God bestows on me in the bosom of my family and your love.

ROYAL DECREE *from Aranjuez, March 19, 1808.*

My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important burden of the government of my kingdom, and it being requisite for the re-establishment of my health that I should enjoy in a more temperate climate a private life, I have determined, after mature deliberation, to abdicate my crown in favour of my heir, my dearly beloved son the prince of Asturias. My royal will therefore is, that he should

be duly recognized and obeyed as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties; and in order that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication may be exactly and duly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others whom it may concern.

I THE KING.

Don Pedro Cevallos, first Secretary of State.

DECLARATION by DON BARTOLOME NUGNEZ *Secretary to the Council of SPAIN, Aranjuez, March 21, 1808.*

I certify that his excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state and of dispatches, has communicated to the dean, president, and *interim* of the council, the following royal order :—

To the President of the Council.

Illustrious Signor,—One of the first cares of the king our master (Ferdinand VII.) on ascending the throne, was to notify that happy event to the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and at the same time to assure his imperial and royal majesty, that, animated by the same sentiments as his august father, far from changing in the slightest degree his political system with respect to France, he will endeavour by all possible means to draw closer the bands of friendship and strict alliance which fortunately subsist between Spain and the French empire.

His majesty has commanded me to make this com-

munication to you, in order that upon its publication in council the tribunal may act conformably thereto in all the measures taken for re-establishing public tranquillity in Madrid, as well as for receiving the French troops about to enter that city, and administering to them every requisite assistance; endeavouring at the same time to convince the people that they come as friends, and for purposes advantageous to the king and the nation. His majesty flatters himself that the council, being informed of his earnest desire for more firmly consolidating the connection that exists between him and the emperor of the French and king of Italy, will study by all the means in their power to inspire the inhabitants of Madrid with similar sentiments. May God preserve your excellency many years!

PEDRO CEVALLOS.

LETTER *from King CARLOS IV. to the Emperor NAPOLEON, dated from Aranjuez, March 25, 1808.*

SIR MY BROTHER,

Your majesty will assuredly hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequences. You will not without sympathy see a king, who has been compelled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch, his ally, placing every thing in his protection who alone can fix his happiness, and that of his whole family and trusty and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons and the

cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death; and that my death would be followed by that of the queen. I was compelled to abdicate the throne, but to-day peace is restored; and full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the great man who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on my fate, that of the queen, and of the prince de la Paz.

I address myself to your majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement. I rely with confidence and altogether upon the cordiality and friendship of your majesty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

CARLOS.

PROTEST.

I protest and declare that my decree of the 19th March, in which I renounce my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled in order to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is, therefore, to be considered as of no authority.

I THE KING.

LETTER of CARLOS IV. *to the Supreme Council of Castile, the Council of Inquisition, &c. dated from Bayonne, May 4, 1808.*

IN the present extraordinary circumstances, we have resolved to give a new proof of our affection towards our beloved subjects, whose happiness during the whole course of our reign has been the constant object of our solicitude. We have, therefore, abdicated all our claims upon the Spanish kingdoms, in favour of our friend and ally the emperor of the French, by a treaty which has been signed and ratified, and which stipulates for the integrity and independence of the Spanish kingdoms, and the preservation of our holy religion, not only as the predominant, but as the sole and exclusive religion in Spain.

We have, therefore, thought proper to send you this letter, that you should conform yourselves thereto; publish its contents, and make every exertion in support of the emperor Napoleon. Display the utmost frankness and friendship towards the French; and, above all, direct all your care to preserve the country from insurrections and tumults. In the new condition upon which we were entering, we shall frequently turn our eyes towards you; and happy shall we be to know that you enjoy peace and contentment.

I THE KING.

IF it appears strange that so many persons of virtue, of talents, and of genuine patriotism, members of the convention of Bayonne, manifested, to say the least, a ready acquiescence in the unprincipled usurpation then and there announced, the solution must be sought in the ineffable contempt and indignation excited by the conduct of the reigning dynasty; the state of degradation, and almost of despair, to which Spain was reduced under the government of the Bourbon sovereigns; in the promise held out by Napoleon in his proclamation of May 25th (1808), "*of securing to Spain a constitution which will unite the salutary power of the crown with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation;*" and the animating prospect of political regeneration, exemplified in the new order of things established both in the north and south of Italy, and well illustrated in the following declaration issued from Bayonne, June 23d, 1808.

JOSEPH, *King of NAPLES and SICILY, to the People of the Kingdom of NAPLES.*

PROVIDENCE, whose designs are inscrutable, having called us to the throne of Spain and the Indies, we have found ourselves in the cruel predicament of withdrawing ourselves from a people who had so many claims to our attachment, and whose happiness was our most gratifying hope, and the only object of our ambition. He who alone can read the hearts of men, can judge of the sincerity of our sentiments; in opposition to which, we have yielded to other impressions, and accepted a kingdom, the government of which has

been put into our hands in virtue of the renunciation of the rights to the crown of Spain, which our illustrious brother, his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, had acquired.

In this important situation, considering that institutions are alone capable of duration, we reflected with regret, that your social constitution was still imperfect, and thought that the farther we had removed from you, so much the more incumbent upon us it was to secure your present and future welfare, by all the means in our power. For these reasons we have put the last hand to our labours, and fixed the constitutional statute upon principles already partially adopted, and which are more conformable to the age in which we live, the mutual relations of the neighbouring states, and the disposition of the nation, which we have employed ourselves to ascertain ever since we were called to rule over it.

The principal objects which guided us in our labours were,

I. The preservation of our holy religion.

II. The establishment of a public treasury, separate and distinct from the hereditary property of the crown.

III. The establishment of an intermediate administration, and a national parliament, capable of enlightening the prince, and of performing important services both to him and the nation.

IV. A judicial organization, which shall render the decisions of the courts of justice independent of the will of the prince, and make all the citizens equal in the eye of the law.

V. A municipal administration, which shall be the property of no man, but to which all without distinction shall be admissible.

VI. The maintenance of the regulations which we have made for securing the payments to the creditors of the state.

His majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, our illustrious brother, having been pleased to confer upon this act his powerful guarantee, we are assured that our hopes with regard to the prosperity of our beloved people of the kingdom of Naples, thus reposing upon his wide-spread glory, shall not experience disappointment.

CONSTITUTIONAL STATUTE of the kingdom of
Naples and Sicily. Bayonne, June 20, 1808.

THE END.

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